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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS  
(No. 9)

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(No. 9)

Preface

This is a monthly publication containing translations of material on the International Communist movement selected mainly from Communist and pro-Communist organs published in the Free World.

When adequately descriptive, the title given in the source document is used for the purpose of this publication. When a more descriptive title is necessary, the title as given in the source document is included in parentheses.

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## IA. COMMUNISTS AND BUSINESS BOOM

(Cf. "Labor and the Boom," Weg und Ziel, No 10, 1959)

Weg und Ziel

Franz Marek

Vol 18, No 1, January 1960, Vienna

Pages 18-24, German (Austrian) monthly per (Communist)

It is one of the tasks of the communists in our time to avoid everything in their agitation and propaganda that might even remotely create the false impression that they are just waiting for a depression in order to be able to prove the superiority of socialism and the harmfulness of reformist illusions. Depressions and recessions are unavoidable under capitalism and all government control measures are incapable of resolving the contradiction between the unlimited possibility of increasing production and the purchasing power which lags behind in the capitalist profit economy. But we communists are not primarily interested in waiting until our predictions have brilliantly come true; we are interested above all in the defense of the interests of the working individual. Our constructive proposals for job security -- made several years ago in the electrical industry and for one year now in coal mining -- do not grow on the soil of the illusion that the business boom is something permanent under capitalism. Our proposals arise out of the responsibility toward the workers, out of the obligation of the communists to keep the class interest of the workers in mind in every situation -- in times of boom and in times of depression or recession.

Despite increasing winter unemployment, one may well count on a continuation of the boom in 1960; nevertheless, we again must think about what the actual task of the communists in boom periods is. This is especially important, since we again and again run into opinions and moods to the effect that there is no room for revolutionary worker movements during boom times, that the masses are satisfied anyway, yes, that they are even "satiated," and that fat boom years are bound to be lean years for the revolutionary worker movement. Now, we do not want to deny the fact that the boom favors reformist illusions as to the possibilities of the capitalist way of life and that it often makes it difficult to prove the contradictions inherent in the capitalist profit system. On the other hand, the combat readiness of the workers is less undermined by the fear of not being able to find jobs elsewhere in case they are having difficulties with their employers. But is it the only effect of economic crises that the proof of the advantages of crisis-free socialist economy is made easier? Crises strengthen the competition within the workers and facilitate the reformist propaganda that any battle is senseless because thousands of unemployed are waiting in the streets in order to get a job even under less favorable conditions -- not to speak of the possibility offered to fascist demagogic by the

de-classing of segments of labor. There is no automatic and mechanical connection between the boom and "unavoidably" negative effects of the boom, just as there is no automatic and mechanical connection between the crisis and the "unavoidable" revolutionizing of labor.

In the history of the labor movement, there have often been boom periods which coincided with a great upswing of the revolutionary workers movement (for instance, in the Russian worker movement on the eve of World War I). Whether the positive or negative effects of an economic period prevail, depends essentially also on the worker movement, above all on the revolutionary worker movement. It is by no means certain from the very beginning that a boom must prove the ruling parties right.

The boom in recent years here in Austria has often had a detrimental effect on the communists -- this was also spelled out in several resolutions in connection with the description discussion of the causes of our reverses -- not because this is unavoidable in a boom period, but because the weakness of our party -- the weakening of our party above all in connection with the events of 1956 -- predominantly made possible the negative effects of the boom. One of the prerequisites for the elimination of this weakness is precisely the calm understanding of the tasks which we communists must accomplish during the boom.

#### The Class Standpoint During the Boom

We have emphasized the key task several times: we must represent the class standpoint to the effect that the important thing to do during a boom is to get out of it what we can; to recognize and present the share in the modern technical achievements as natural, and not to accept it as a gift from heaven and from the parties which claim this share. The value of the commodity called labor is determined by the consumer goods which during a certain period are needed for their attainment. The modern technical consumer good in our time just so happens to belong to the value of labor whose possessors must watch out very carefully that the price of this commodity -- the wages -- will not lag too far behind the value. The entrepreneurs after all -- quite successfully -- do not refrain from getting out of the boom what they can, though they have advanced to the status of "social partners." Should the workers renounce this just because they have been degraded to the level of "social partners?" The "over-all economic requirements" do not prevent the entrepreneurs from raking in unlimited profits -- profits that beat everything we have ever seen. Why should labor be obligated to accept a "moderate wage policy" which denies it a greater share in increased production and in the technical advances? Solidaritaet [Solidarity], the organ of the OeGB [Oesterreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund] -- Austrian Federation of Labor Unions, in its issue of

21 November 1959 wrote that the important thing is not "... to force major wage hikes ... at any price, even at the price of damage to the public welfare." But what is public welfare, if it is not the well-being of the individual, working people? "If the union were to demand and win general wage demands in times of runaway prices," wrote Welt der Arbeit [Labor World], the SP [Sozialistische Partei -- Socialist Party] plant newspaper, in its latest issue, "the price-raising causes would be increased." That is an ideal blank check for profits, which the SP article does not even mention.

The workers have been able to acquire quite a few things in recent years, generally in those families where several family members are working. But at what price? At the price of increased rush-rush and more of a rat race, which will disable them earlier. The union leadership itself has paid for the inadequate working time reduction with a promise of collaboration in the increase in productivity. And the nightmare of the monthly payments under the installment plan has turned into shackles which hinder the fighting capability of the workers and makes it easier for the entrepreneurs and the coalition parties to pursue their wage freeze policies.

The class standpoint in the boom therefore also corresponds to the class dignity and the class pride of labor, to the need for throwing the weight of labor into the scales of dispute, with all the more opportunity, since in Austria the "social partner" is weakened by the extensive nationalization measures and is partly robbed of its backing due to the geographic location of the country. Of course, this class standpoint contradicts the theories of "social partnership" which drown the fighting spirit of labor in mealy-mouthed phrases alluding to the consideration for "over-all economic requirements" and which pretend to see the hydra of economic crisis in every wage movement. Olah declared at the OeGB Congress that battles and strikes would certainly have brought the workers success, but that the OeGB leadership is proud to win without battles.

Of course, the workers have achieved this and that in recent years. But at what price? See above. And the decisive thing above all is the fact that these improvements represent but a fraction of what the workers could have gotten out of this boom if the entrepreneurs had been made to feel the combat readiness of the workers to a greater degree. This also applies to the agreement on the demands of the metal workers which was preceded by a 2-year "cooling-off" period.

#### Theories Against the Class Struggle

The entrepreneurs will find it difficult to decide on greater concessions vis-a-vis the demands of the workers so long as they know that ever new theories exhort labor to passivity and to waiting for decisions

from heaven. In the concept of the OeGB at the last congress it was "solidarism" which protested against the intentions and possibilities of the better-paid workers to get more of a share out of the boom. With its demand for "income equality," this concept did not combine perhaps the principle of a greater share in the increased productivity and production vis-a-vis the provocative profits of the entrepreneurs (cf. the economic section of this issue); rather, it linked with this demand the renunciation of these worker categories, in order not to have to increase the gap leading to the less-paid workers. As if it were not an old lesson of the union movement -- which was again confirmed in the wage agreement of the metal trades -- that the battle of the stronger worker groups will also benefit the less-paid workers whose "tail-end" position will thus be eased. And as if the renunciation of wage demands by the stronger worker categories did not merely result in the entrepreneurs getting more!

At the SP congress, Pittermann and Hillegeist advocated the thesis that the exploitation of the workers in the enterprises had been overcome and had been shifted to the market, so that in our times it is obviously more important to have "consumer conferences" than a class struggle that is now to be fought out in the "parity commission" which decides on price rises and wage hikes.

Now, labor certainly cannot renounce its fight against the price dictating of the cartels which assures the latter of colossal profits; the demands for the amendment of the inadequate cartel law is still justified. Under certain conditions and circumstances, labor must by no means reject the commissions in which it negotiates with the representatives of the entrepreneurs. But concretely, the "parity commission" in Austria means that labor in practice renounces any greater pressure on its "social partner"; the "parity commission" after all does not decide whether there are to be any wage hikes or not; rather, it decides whether such demands for wage hikes may at all be raised.

And above all: the wage fight in the enterprises and unions remains decisive for the greater share in the boom because the exploitation of the worker takes place in the enterprise and the surplus value, which is squeezed out of the muscles and nerves of the worker, is realized only on the market, i.e., it is transformed into money. Certainly, the entrepreneurs try to indemnify themselves through price rises for the fact that they cannot directly cut wages in boom times. "Creeping inflation," as the Catholic Furche [Furrow] wrote on 28 November, is "the price for full employment and the welfare state of our days." The theories of "social partnership" demand of the workers that they swallow these price rises -- the main thing being that the boom remains preserved; but they demand of labor also that it be satisfied with "reasonable" wages -- the main thing again being that the boom remains preserved. The wage and price spiral becomes an inflation scare

when the workers make the demands; but it rests in the Museum of History when the entrepreneurs continually rake in extra profits from price rises. As if wage demands were not the best weapon against price rises! As if the guaranteeing and raising of the workers' purchasing power did not remain the best means for the guaranteeing of employment!

#### After the Plant Council Elections

It seems to us that the class standpoint represented by the communists in the boom contributed to the successes in the plant council elections which were discussed in great detail in the opposition press and on the radio. The SP plant newspaper contented itself with the statement that the workers elected communist plant councilmen, not because they are communists but despite the fact that they are communists. It is certainly one of the strong points of our party that it has worker representatives in the plants who enjoy prestige far beyond the framework of the party; in this, their personality was shaped by their communist convictions. But the fact is that the same comrades found it difficult 2 years ago to win the votes of the enterprise personnel. At that time the aftereffect of the events of 1956 was undoubtedly still greater, while this time the general developments made it easier for the communists to act; and the successes in the plant council elections in a certain measure can also be traced back to the fact that the class standpoint of the communists -- to the effect that the workers, in the representation of their justified demands, must not simply rely on the "parity commission" -- found increasing resonance in the enterprises. It is interesting to note that a large portion of the new voters who voted for our plant councils consisted of young workers who were not impressed by the statesman-like implorations of the union leaders and considered the class standpoint as something understandable and quite natural.

This class standpoint is all the more necessary for labor because, in the wake of the rate increases on the railroads and in the post office, it must also expect price rises and hence the serious danger that the share of the workers in the boom will become smaller instead of greater. Price rises are a byproduct of capitalist booms and furnish recurring proof that capitalism cannot resolve the contradiction between the unlimited possibility of increasing production and the lagging purchasing power -- a contradiction which leads to crises. To defend the class standpoint against the rise in the cost of living; to oppose all theories of "social partnership" which exhort labor to renounce a greater share in the boom; to refute the legend of the wage-price spiral with which the price rises are supposed to be made more palatable for the workers; to stress the need for uniform coordinated class struggles for a greater share in the boom -- all this will constitute one of the decisive tasks of the communists in the coming months. The short bakers' strike again proved how the thin and fragile

propaganda shell of "social partnership" is immediately shattered by the struggle of the workers; the organ of the OeVP (Öesterreichische Volkspartie -- Austrian People's Party) with justification sees in every fighting action the "great danger ... to the effectiveness ... of those principles which form the basis of the parity commission" (Tageszeitung (Daily Journal), 3 December).

Though economic problems play a decisive role in these disputes, this does not mean that the communists can forget about using the "political flashes of light" which -- as Lenin wrote once -- are generated among labor by the economic struggle, in order to point up the political interrelationships connected with economic problems. Here we run into problems summarized in the appeal of the communist parties of Europe under the formula "renewal of democracy," which, among others, also relates to the initiative and influence of the workers in the various problems of economic life. For us in Austria this means concretely, above all, the awakening of the class initiative against the theory and the practice of "social partnership" which seek to explain and glorify the waiting for the agreements, decided and negotiated topside, as the modern task of the modern worker. Can the workers be content with a democracy in which they certainly can talk about everything but in which they have no real say on anything?

Here our deliberations merge with those great disputes on socialism and capitalism which in the period of peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism is of decisive importance. The communists need not wait for the crisis in order to prove the superiority of socialism, which has no crisis manifestations, which raises the workers' wages in a planned fashion, and which puts the possibility of advancement in the school bags of every worker child. Though we advance the timely demand for the lowering of the retirement age by 5 years, we do not refrain from pointing out that this demand has been realized in all labor countries. Labor needs the communists as the consistent representatives of the class standpoint at all times, under all circumstances; but it needs them also as spearhead fighters for a higher socialist way of life in which the economic upswing is uninterrupted, in which technical progress benefits everyone, and in which the raising of the living standards is not periodic possibility but a constant law.

## 1B. WHAT IS EXPLOITATION?

Weg und Ziel

Franz Strobl

Vol 18, No 1, January 1960, Vienna

Pages 43-50, German (Austrian) monthly per (Communist)

There is hardly a worker left in Austria today who does not feel and know that he is socially handicapped, that a few people are getting rich and fat on the work done by him and his fellow workers, that the wages of the workers far from correspond to what they create in the way of values. Still, most of these workers do not exactly feel as though they are "exploited" and they consider it an exaggeration if they are called that. The reason for this lies in the fact that bourgeois language uses the term "exploited" for a kind of tortured and overworked galley slave, and the term "exploiter" for a blood-sucking fiend, a ghoul. This bourgeois concept, which emphasizes not so much the essence of the thing as certain barbaric outward manifestations, did not spring up just by chance, but was and is being nurtured consciously -- because such forms of exploitation today are almost merely something out of the distant past and faraway countries and since one can therefore picture the disappearance of such forms here in our country as the disappearance of exploitation as a whole.

The Marxists cannot agree with such a picturization. They are less concerned with certain outward forms -- which of course change a lot in the course of time -- but with the content, the essence of the matter. They speak of exploitation, when a stratum or class of people seizes for itself the fruits of the diligence and labor of another social class to a more or less large extent -- regardless of the forms and methods with which this is done.

Now, if we word the question in this fashion, we can hardly deny that exploitation exists also today in "modern" capitalism, and hence that there also "exploiters" and "exploited." According to the official reports, 431 people in Austria reported to the tax authorities that their 1955 income exceeded 1 million Schillings; among them we have some who admit to 5, 10, and more million Schillings of annual income. The number of these millionaires and the amount of their incomes has risen considerably since 1955. Where do these incomes come from? Should we really think that the people who earn this kind of money accomplish 100 times more than a diligent and skilled worker? In reality, it is these very multimillionaires who do the least work. The colossal values which they rake in as "income" must be created by someone who did not get them. They are thus products of exploitation.

Let us take another example. The great corporations are accustomed to publishing annual statements on their business successes; these statements reveal a part of the profits. Thus, the statement of the Steyr-Daimler-Puch Corporation shows a profit of 165,000,000 Schillings for 1958. That is a value which the 15,000 workers and employees of the enterprise created through their labor, but did not get paid out. Figured per capita, we find that every person employed by that corporation created 11,000 Schillings of values which he did not find in his pay envelope, but which remained in the cash registers of the enterprise. The statement of the Meindl Company yields a similar result. It shows a profit of 22.2 million Schillings for 1958, which gives us even more than 11,000 Schillings -- almost 1,000 Schillings a month -- per capita of the 2,000 employees. In both cases the profit is even higher, since the statements are always "doctored" more or less, and thus hide the real amount of the profits.

#### Where Do These Profits Come From?

Bourgeois propaganda makes it look as though it is not the working people who create all these values, but "capital." Capital "works," it says here; it "grows," it "bears interest," etc. In reality however capital can neither work nor create any kinds of values; that only the working individual can do. One can pile up paper money or gold pieces as much as one wants -- they will not "multiply" by themselves. Machines -- even the best automatic ones -- likewise cannot by themselves create any sort of values. It is not the machines that do the work -- it is the worker who does the work; it is not capital that is growing, but it is the worker who causes it to grow through his work.

One can also readily see that commerce cannot create any values. Commerce can only distribute already existing values; the commercial profits contain solely a part of that value of the commodities which had earlier been created in the enterprises. If the commercial profits were to originate out of the fact that every seller simply adds 10 or 20% to the price of the goods he sells, no one would derive any advantage from that for any length of time; here is why: since everybody is seller and buyer at the same time, he would lose on the other side what he gained by the price markup in the first place; the thing that would come out of all this would be merely a general rise in prices on all commodities by 10 or 20%, i.e., a corresponding money devaluation. Values therefore can never arise out of the circulation of a commodity, but exclusively in its production, whereby of course commerce can absorb a part of this value (see pages 397 and 30).

### How Exploitation Takes Place

The value of commodities is determined by how much working time went into them. Just as we measure the weight of an object with a scale, so we measure the trade or barter value (value, for short) according to the working time required to produce (or reproduce it). (Of course, we are talking here, not of the individual, but of the socially necessary working time and one must also take into consideration that the working hour of a highly trained worker, who has many years of training under his belt, in reality contains more than just one working hour.) If a certain commodity for instance contains three to five times as much socially necessary working time than another, it also has three or five times as much value and one will in general have to pay three or five times as much for it. Of course, this does not mean that the prices of the commodities always correspond exactly to their particular current values; depending on the supply and demand, the price of a commodity sometimes rises above its actual value and sometimes drops below it, though this is only temporary and these fluctuations balance in the course of time. Let us therefore remember this: the commodities in general are traded at their real values; here, these values are determined through the socially necessary working time contained in the commodities (pages 392-397, respectively, 25-30).

Let us now apply these realizations to the relationships between the workers and the entrepreneurs. If a worker hires himself out and takes a job in a capitalist enterprise, we initially seem to have a business deal, a barter, such as it is quite customary under capitalism: both parties give and both parties take. One side gives its muscle power, the other its money -- an ordinary trade. This trade is normal also insofar as the worker in general has a free hand, just like the entrepreneur; if the two cannot agree, each party is free to look for another partner. As in any other trade, supply and demand also play an important role here. If the demand is great and the labor supply is small, the worker will get a higher price (wage) than if the reverse is the case. All this explains that one speaks in the bourgeois world of a "labor market," just the way one speaks of a food market, a book market, or a horse market.

Now, what does the worker sell on the "labor market?" His work products? No, for they belong from the very beginning to the entrepreneur, who in turn sells them. Does the worker sell his "labor?" Not that, either. As Karl Marx proved, the worker sells neither his labor nor its products, but he sells his working power for whose value the capitalist reimburses him to a greater or lesser extent in the form of wages.

The value of the commodity called labor here, as Karl Marx showed, is determined like any other commodity: through the working time required for its production or reproduction. The value of labor thus coincides with the value of those means which the worker needs in order to attain his working power -- which include, in addition to the direct, momentary living requirements, of course also the means necessary for his growing-up and his training, as well as the means for the maintenance of a family (pages 399-400, respectively, 32-33).

The key point here is this: labor, like any other commodity, does have a certain given value, but it is the sole commodity in the world that also has a marvelous ability to create values and to be the source of value. It is the sole commodity that has creative force and that can bring out more value than it possesses itself, i.e., more than it needs for its own maintenance. It is precisely this surplus -- this difference between its own value and the value created by it, this "surplus value" -- that the capitalist seizes for himself; this is where he gets his profit.

A worker might say that he wants to work each day only as many hours as he needs to create those values which he must have to maintain or restore his working power. Depending on the level of technology (productivity), he would then have to work 2, 3, or 4 hours daily. In this time, he would so to speak have "worked off" his wages. But the standard working time, as we know, is not 2-4 hours, but 8 hours daily. The worker thus does excess work; the value he creates in this excess working time forms the surplus value.

Marx expressed this fact also in the following manner: the normal working day of a worker has two parts: (a) the "necessary working time," in which that value is created which corresponds to the value of the working power or the wages, and (b) the "excess working time" in which an excess product is created which forms the surplus value. It is the latter which the capitalist class makes its own (pages 401-402, respectively, 35). With this theory of the surplus value, Marx exposed the mechanism of exploitation under capitalism in which the worker in general gets back the value of that which he puts on the market (his working power) and in which the capitalist still profits.

Now all we need to do is to explain what forces or enables the two partners to remain in their unequal positions. The power of the capitalist to buy labor and exploit it rests first of all on the fact that he possesses the means of production, that is, fixed and movable "capital"; the worker's need to offer his working power for sale, conversely, springs from the fact that he has no means of production. The worker, to be sure, is not forced to work for a certain capitalist, but he must work for some capitalist somewhere if he does not want to starve.

### Exploitation Is Increasing

The exploitation of man is no invention of capitalism. For more than 5,000 years, man has been able to produce more values than he absolutely needs for his own living; even in the past there have therefore been classes which seized the excess product of a class and exploited the latter. The thing that has changed in the course of time is not the fact of exploitation, but its manifestation, its method and -- its extent.

If we tell a man today that exploitation has increased in the course of time, that under present-day capitalism it is even much greater than for instance under the system of human slavery, we will at first run into disbelief. This is because people today confuse the forms of exploitation with their extent. The outward manifestations of exploitation certainly have been "refined" in the course of history; they have become "humanized" -- but that does not change anything on the fact that the real degree of exploitation has increased. This degree of exploitation depends on how great the work productivity is, in other words, how great that excess product is which a man can create. But labor productivity has increased tremendously in the course of time, especially in the past century. The excess product thus grew constantly and the degree of exploitation therefore grew with it, though its forms became more refined.

But have not working hours been shortened in the past century? Did not the standard of living of the workers improve? Have not social laws been won in battle? Are not the food, clothing, and shelter of the workers today better than in the old days? All that is certainly true, but productivity has increased even faster. Here is an undeniable fact of capitalism: the more modern the technology used, the higher the productivity of the workers, the shorter -- despite all achievements of the working class -- is the necessary working time and the longer is the excess working time from which the capitalist draws his profit. It is therefore also senseless and hopeless to wait for the exploitation of capitalism to get gradually smaller and to stop entirely in the end. It is similarly false to assume that any rise in the living standard of the working class must be accompanied by an abatement in exploitation. We have seen this for ourselves in Austria during the past century: of the results of a considerable productivity increase, the workers have been able to win only a small share; their living standard has risen somewhat, to be sure, but the profits and hence the degree of exploitation have risen much more.

### The Camouflage of Exploitation

That many workers are so little aware of the factual increase in exploitation, yes, even of the fact of exploitation itself, is also connected with the fact that exploitation under capitalism appears in a skilfully camouflaged form. Excess work, respectively, unpaid work, is not visible, for the wages are calculated according to the total number of working hours accomplished. One working hour looks like the next; all look as though they had been paid for; whatever constitutes necessary working time and what constitutes excess working time can be determined only through complicated calculations which cannot be made without a look at the books of the enterprise. The form of wage payment hides the split of the working day into necessary and excess working time, into paid and unpaid work (page 403, respectively, 36).

There is a simple yardstick for the degree of exploitation: we compare that which the worker creates in the excess working time with that which he produces in the necessary working time, or -- which is the same -- we compare the surplus value with the wages. If, e.g., the necessary working time is 6 hours, and the excess working time is 3 hours, the surplus value attains half the amount of the wage and the surplus value rate is 50%. If the necessary and the excess working time are 4 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours each, the wage and the surplus value are equal and the surplus value rate is 100%. In case of 3 hours of necessary and 6 hours of excess working time, the surplus value is twice as large as the wage, and the surplus value rate is thus 200%, etc. The investigations required on this score for all of Austrian industry have for a long time been conducted in Weg und Ziel where it was calculated each time which part of the total product of Austrian industry was paid out in the form of wages and which part thereof got into other hands. We get the following impressive compilation.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Surplus Value Rate</u>	<u>Necessary Working Time</u>	<u>Excess Working Time (at 8 hours)</u>
1937	94	4 hrs 07 min	3 hrs 53 min
1949	130	3 hrs 29 min	4 hrs 31 min
1950	162	3 hrs 03 min	4 hrs 57 min
1951	177	2 hrs 53 min	5 hrs 07 min
1952	193	2 hrs 44 min	5 hrs 16 min
1953	189	2 hrs 46 min	5 hrs 14 min

<u>Year</u>	<u>Surplus Value Rate</u>	<u>Necessary Working Time</u>	<u>Excess Working Time (at 8 hours)</u>
1954	211	2 hrs 34 min	5 hrs 26 min
1955	229	2 hrs 26 min	5 hrs 34 min
1956	227	2 hrs 27 min	5 hrs 33 min
1957	239	2 hrs 22 min	5 hrs 38 min
1958	256	2 hrs 15 min	5 hrs 45 min

At first this calculation seems exaggerated. It sounds rather incredible that a worker works only  $2\frac{1}{4}$  hours out of his daily 8 hours for his wages and that he does 5 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  hours excess work. Even that which we can calculate from the balance sheets in the form of profit -- imposing as it may be -- does not correspond to such an order of magnitude. But the matter can easily be explained. The surplus value includes all values which are created by productively active people and which did not flow back to them in the form of money or commodities. The profit derived from trade, the capital interest of the baker, the rent for the property owner, the taxes and contributions of the entrepreneurs to the government, which serve for the maintenance of the latter and hence for the preservation of the existing system of exploitation -- all that must also be taken out of surplus value (pages 405, respectively, 38). The surplus value, which is created in the plant of a certain capitalist entrepreneur, thus only partly remains in the pockets of this entrepreneur as profit; the rest is divided up among a whose series of sectors of the capitalist economy, as well as the capitalist state, and there is no lack of bitter conflicts and battles in this process. In this battle it might happen under certain circumstances that one or the other capitalist has nothing left or winds up only with so small a part of the surplus value created in his enterprise that he is squeezed out by his competitors and has to go out of business. His individual profit would then be very small or he might even have losses which however changes nothing on the fact that surplus value is created in his enterprise and that the workers employed there are exploited. This circumstance of course also contributes to the camouflaging of the real degree of exploitation.

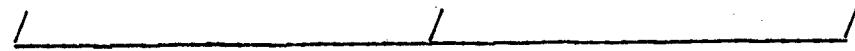
#### The Effort Toward the Increase of Surplus Value

An important difference of capitalist exploitation as against the precapitalist forms of exploitation consists also in the fact that it is unlimited. In order to cut out his competitor, each individual

capitalist must try to produce not only as cheaply as possible but also in as large quantities as possible; that means that he must constantly enlarge and expand his facilities. The means for this can be obtained only from an increased exploitation of the workers. Whether the capitalist is personally a greedy individual, whether his personality is pleasant or not -- he must try to squeeze more and more out of the muscles and nerves of "his" workers, for otherwise his competitor will have him with his back to the wall; his competitor will of course be the more successful, the less scruples he has. It is not personal greed, but the conditions inherent in capitalism which are the driving force for the constant increase in exploitation.

The capitalists have many means available for the increase of exploitation. First of all they have of course the tool of direct and indirect wage pressure. Especially in times of crisis and great unemployment, the capitalists do not shrink from direct, open wage cuts and despite the resistance of the workers, they might succeed in forcing wages below the value of labor for a certain time. In boom times and during low unemployment, the capitalists resort to indirect wage reductions by organizing, with the help of the government, a controlled money devaluation, a "creeping inflation," which leaves the nominal wages untouched, which even allows a certain increase in nominal wages, but which nevertheless lowers the real value of the wages -- their purchasing power.

The methods of direct and indirect wage pressure are aimed at a direct lowering of the real wages of the worker. But can the capitalists also increase the surplus value? Can they increase the exploitation when the real wages remain the same or even rise? Even that is possible. Let us look at a simple "model" here: the line below represents in its full length an 8-hour working day of a worker; its left part symbolizes the necessary working time and its right part the excess working time:



It is obvious that the capitalist can increase the excess working time and hence his profits in two ways. First, by making the working day longer, i.e., by extending our line to the right. Second, he can compress the necessary working time in which the worker works off his wages, i.e., he can shift the center tick mark on our line to the left. Marx calls the first method the method of "absolute" surplus value and the second that of "relative" surplus value.

The first method prevailed during the early stages of capitalism and led to a situation where the working day was often stretched up to 14 and 16 hours, i.e., to the physical endurance limit of the individual -- and not infrequently also beyond it. The method of absolute

surplus value did not fade into the background until the worker movement developed and forced the introduction of the legal standard working day as a result of battles which belong to the most heroic chapters of its history. This does not mean that it has disappeared entirely. In modern times, rather, it has assumed a new form, the form of overtime work. Though higher wages must be paid for one hour of overtime work than for a normal working hour, surplus value is created in the overtime working hours, and the exploitation of the worker thus increases. Regular overtime work besides presses hard against normal wages, so that finally a situation develops in which the workers can no longer live on their normal wages and must grind out overtime hours. The legal limitation of the working day is thus cancelled out in fact.

The more important method for the increase of exploitation today however is the method of relative surplus value, i.e., the progressive compression of the necessary working time, in order thus to attain a greater stretch-out of the excess working time and hence of the surplus value. The surplus value grows here because the worker works off his wages in a shorter time. This method is easier for the entrepreneurs to use, for they can thus increase the exploitation without having to lower wages directly.

Since Marx wrote his Lohn, Preis und Profit [Wage, Price, and Profit], much has changed of course. But the essence of exploitation is unchanged. The realization of this essence will also help us to answer next time in this section the question as to whether wage hikes must lead to price rises.

2. INTERVIEW WITH SANTIAGO CARRILLO, SECRETARY-GENERAL  
OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (HOW TO GET OUT OF DICTATORSHIP)

France Nouvelle  
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Inflation, which is the basis and economic instrument of the Franco regime, is at the present time bringing Spain to the edge of bankruptcy, and the remedies invented by Franco are proving to be just as catastrophic. To such an extent that we are seeing, on the one hand, an even more rapid disintegration of the elements that support the regime and, on the other hand, the logical and fundamentally positive formation of numerous opposition groups and parties. The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party studied these new developments. It adopted a series of measures to get the country out of this climate of indecision. We have put, to the new secretary-general of this Party, Santiago Carrillo, a number of questions to which he has very kindly replied.

The economic and political situation in Spain has recently deteriorated in a tragic manner, especially after the adoption by Franco, in July 1958, of the so-called plan for economic stabilization. What are the consequences of this plan for all of the levels of the Spanish population? What progress has been made in the struggle of the popular masses?

The so-called plan for "stabilization" has caused a serious economic paralysis, aggravating the cyclical crisis that began in April of last year. Demand has fallen off abruptly, and industries that are reducing production are being obliged to accumulate stocks. The government, finding that "stabilization" has gone too far, is now trying, unsuccessfully, to bring about a recovery. The large banks and even the Ministry of Commerce predict for coming months a further decline in production and extension of unemployment.

On the third of this month, in a speech to the heads of the fascist trade unions, the Minister Ullastres admitted that it is "impossible to say what the present situation is with regard to the plan, or what economic policy is going to be followed."

These words illustrate the confusion in government circles before the situation that has been created and the resistance to the plan of "stabilization."

According to the Central Bank -- one of the six great banks of the oligarchy -- the application of the plan has already brought about a reduction of 20 percent in the pay of Spanish workers. This percentage is undoubtedly lower than the real figure. Moreover, cost of living, according to official statistics, has increased in the first ten months of 1959 by 2.51 percent, and this despite the economic crisis.

Unemployment is increasing. It is not possible to determine exactly the number of workers unemployed in recent months, since there are no reliable statistics; but it is quite possible that the number exceeds 200,000. It is calculated that the number of unemployed workers will soon fluctuate between 500,000 and one million.

Unemployment in the rural areas is also increasing, accompanying the increase in poverty of the peasants, as a result of the decline in prices and lack of markets for various agricultural products.

#### The Masses Protest

Discontent among the workers and the peasants is about to explode, in spite of the repressive measures. A few days ago, in Madrid, a Communist worker, Carlos Fernandez, was sentenced to ten years in prison for having taken part in a strike.

On the 25th of January, 4,000 workers assembled in Madrid in front of the building of the "vertical trade associations" to demand higher pay and measures against unemployment.

Also in the month of January, demonstrations of workers were held during four days before the city hall of Tarrasa, an important industrial city on the outskirts of Barcelona.

In Malaga, workers of a large metallurgical plant stopped work and demonstrated before the office of the plant. At Seville a mass demonstration was held before the palace of the archbishop to demand work and better pay. In four important towns of Seville Province, Alcala de Guadaira, Carmona, Breves, and La Rinconada, masses of workers and peasants demonstrated in the streets to protest against unemployment and poverty. In several enterprises of Madrid, Barcelona, and Biscaya, the action of the workers prevented dismissals.

All of these developments show that a great movement in the struggle of the masses is beginning. The Sixth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party has indicated this way, that of the united struggle of the working masses against the stabilization plan and its consequences, as the only way that can prevent unemployment and poverty from reaching terrible proportions for the working class. The actions I have cited confirm the correctness of our point of view.

The working class and the masses of the peasants are not alone in protesting against the plan. Nonmonopolistic members of the bourgeois class recognize that the situation is very critical. Failures of non-monopolistic firms are occurring at a rapid rate. Other firms are awaiting only the authorization of the government to close and dismiss workers, because of the lack of orders for continued production.

Behavior of the monopolistic oligarchy shows the extent of the resistance to the stabilization plan. The leading banks are already openly criticizing, if not the principle of "stabilization," at least the manner of carrying out the plan.

The Urquijo Bank, another of the "six great banks" declares in reporting on the results of the plan at the end of 1959 that the Spanish economy continues to be controlled and "that a controlled economy brings on inflation, which is not compatible with stability." The bank demands the "liberation" of the labor market (that is, unlimited freedom of employers to dismiss workers), reduction in taxes and public expenditures and at the same time the cancellation of orders for American coal and iron and steel products, and also measures to find outlets for national coal by forbidding the use of fuel oil.

In turn, the Central Bank declares there can be no stabilization so long as employing firms do not have authorization to dismiss workers without restriction. It condemns also the increase in taxes and in public expenditures.

The chemical industry trust demands guarantees from the government for the nitrogenous fertilizer industry, in view of the "freeing" of imports of such fertilizers.

#### Capitalists Are Dissatisfied

Capitalists in Biscaya are demanding new government orders and cessation of measures "freeing" foreign trade, although these measures have not yet been enforced.

Each monopolistic group complains to the extent it is injured. But almost all find that the "stabilization" plan has not brought them what they were expecting, and they are protesting.

The Franco government had accepted the plan imposed by the OEEC and the International Monetary Fund as the only way permitting the receipt of foreign loans and preventing the bankruptcy of the government, which found itself in the first months of 1959 without one dollar in the treasury and unable to meet its international obligations.

But the plan included among other measures the devaluation of the peseta from 42 to 60 pesetas to the dollar, the cessation of inflationist policy, and the progressive freeing of foreign trade. This brought about a rise in price of products and raw materials imported, with resulting brutal repercussions as to transport costs, and as to a radical reduction in investment and in public and private credit, aggravated to a considerable extent by inflation.

At the same time, the "freeing" of foreign trade, combined with the prospect of European "integration," made it clear that Spanish production, both industrial and agricultural, is far from being competitive.

The policy accepted by the Franco government when it promulgated the stabilization plan implies that sooner or later there will be integration in the European market and, consequently, dismissal of half of the labor force in industry and of two-thirds of the workers in agriculture.

Modernization of industrial and agricultural equipment requires an enormous amount of capital, which can be found only in part by much more intense exploitation of the workers and peasants, by more brutal expropriation of the nonmonopolistic bourgeois class, and even by elimination of certain lagging sectors controlled by monopolistic capital.

In order to impose this policy on the Spanish people, to oblige them to make the enormous sacrifices involved -- after all they have already endured -- there will be needed a political power much stronger than the dictatorship of General Franco is at present.

This explains why the government is hesitating and giving the impression of not knowing where it is going.

A declaration of the episcopacy has been issued in support of Franco, notwithstanding all the demagogism it contains regarding "austerity." The regime fears there will be a large increase in unemployment. It is urging employers to delay dismissals. It thinks some change in the situation or a miracle will occur to solve the difficulties.

But the capitalists are declaring that they cannot continue operating without large scale dismissal of workers; that the situation will not change if they are forced to continue producing to accumulate stocks. Bitter comment regarding the declaration by the episcopacy is heard in capitalist circles.

The real question faced by the government is: "If we draw the strings too tightly, if we impose new sacrifices, there is risk that a popular movement will break out and put an end to the regime." The capitalists reply: "Yes, this is possible; but it is also certain that the government's policy is 'decapitalizing' our enterprises, is ruining us. It is more than we can endure."

#### The First Signs of a Great Upsurge of the Movement of the Masses

What will happen? What will the Franco government attempt to get itself out of this predicament?

Everything depends on the development of the struggle and of the unity of the popular masses, the working class primarily. If the struggle does not attain the necessary development, the government and the monopolistic oligarchy will end by agreeing as to the possibility of creating large scale unemployment and of further exploitation of the workers remaining in production.

They will impose new burdens on the peasant masses; they will apply new measures of expropriation harmful to the nonmonopolistic bourgeois class. The sufferings of the working masses will be aggravated in a tragic manner.

On the other hand, if the working class and the popular masses continue with their movement, if the actions we have cited are the first signs of a great upsurge of the movement of the masses, as we can hope, and if the struggles of this kind multiply throughout the country, conditions for a great national strike against the dictatorship will be created. The question of a political change will then arise in an irresistible manner.

The reality of this prospect is admitted today by all the opposition parties, and a large number of officials of the dictatorship and many members of the clergy have, in private, the same views.

This is what has brought a part of the opposition groups -- the Catalan parties, the socialists of the interior, the CNT (anarchist syndicate) of Catalonia, the Popular Liberation Front, the Social Democratic Action -- to recognize the necessity of coordinating efforts with the Communist Party. This opinion is shared by certain elements in all of the other parties, including the Spanish Union Party.

A "Round Table"

The Spanish Communist Party has proposed a meeting of all opposition parties for a "round table" discussion. What is the significance of this proposal? How has it been received in Spain? Have you already received replies?

The appeal approved at the Sixth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party and addressed to all forces of the anti-Franco opposition, takes this situation into account. It expresses our desire to collaborate with all opposition parties and groups, even with those of the right, in seeking a peaceful solution of the problem of the regime, in order to give the people an opportunity to decide freely as to the political organization of the country.

Our appeal is addressed to the socialists and "cénétistes" (anarchist syndicates) and to the rightist parties, to the Christian Social Democrats and to the Spanish Union.

For many years, the majority of these forces have tended to oppose progress and have taken refuge in passivity. But today a combination of many factors: deterioration of the economic situation, the predicament of the Franco dictatorship, the necessity of finding a solution to the serious economic and political problems, the struggle of the popular masses in the streets -- if the latter takes place in a manner according to our hopes -- can compel the most laggard of these forces to depart from their die-hard or wait-and-see attitudes inspired by fear of the people.

Our proposal for a "round table" conference of all anti-Franco forces takes into consideration the differing features of the opposition to the dictatorship, an opposition that is characterized by its heterogeneity.

The "round table" would be a kind of parliament of the opposition, with a great diversity of points of view and positions. It would quite certainly confirm what is already known: the existence of serious differences as to solutions to the economic and political problems of our country, once the dictatorship is abolished. But it would surely permit the reaching of common conclusions: a) the necessity of putting an end to the dictatorship; b) agreement that this must be done by peaceful means; c) the necessity of proceeding toward re-establishment of political liberties, toward a regime in which differences can be resolved in a peaceful manner; d) the necessity of respecting the will of the majority and the rights of minorities; e) the necessity of granting extensive political amnesty; f) the desirability of solving the serious economic problems from a national point of view by taking into account

the interests of the people, without putting Spanish economy under the yoke of European and North American monopolies; g) the necessity of following a policy of peace and of coexistence between the two world systems, notwithstanding the sympathies of each group for one or the other of these two systems, etc.

Thus, a "round table" conference could result in common action against the dictatorship, or at least efforts devoted to this purpose, by each group according to its special methods and possibilities. A conference of this kind, or a series of such conferences, could result in the formation of a provisional government, constituted by all or a part of the participants, but supported at least with regard to certain questions by all the participants.

A "round table" conference could give an opportunity for concluding a pact or agreement of a general character, or for reaching agreement on certain particular questions. Even without eliminating differences separating the various groups, even without establishing close collaboration between them, it would be possible to reach agreement as to action against the dictatorship and as to some important subsequent measures.

In short, this action could present a concrete alternative to the dictatorship, an alternative that would have wide national support.

#### Reaching Agreement

We have not yet received definite replies to our appeal. Between parties and illegal groups, the taking of positions on such important questions requires time. But we know that our proposal has been received with sympathy by certain groups.

We are convinced that in one way or another the anti-Franco forces must come to an agreement. The road to follow may be the "round table" conference that we propose. If the crisis in Spain becomes rapidly worse, as seems possible, it is possible that agreement will be reached without a round table conference.

Everything depends on the struggle by the masses. If this develops, much of the resistance to unity will be overcome. Many of those who today do not want to collaborate with the Communists will prefer to do it rather than to become isolated. Others who are dreaming of political changes that are "made to measure" and arranged from above, changes which actually will change nothing, will prefer democratic solutions which we and other forces are proposing and not the solution that for them would be "an adventure."

The Communists have much patience; in politics patience is sometimes very necessary. We are following a correct policy and are every day more closely bound to the masses. Our fundamental effort is concentrated on uniting and mobilizing the masses and strengthening the Communist Party. The longer the delay in talking with us, the stronger will be our voice and the more our words will weigh in the balance. Were it not for the suffering and the poverty of the people who are waiting for us, we could say that today in Spain the only ones who can allow themselves the luxury of waiting are the Communists, and in our case this has nothing to do with what is called a "wait-and-see policy."

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### 3. ARTICLES ON US-SOVIET RELATIONS

#### The USSR and the US

Rinascita

Augusto Livi

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The Stars and Stripes were fluttering on the eve of the 7th of November before the quiet neoclassic facade of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. The halls of the Museum had opened on an Exhibition of American art, announced some time previously in the course of the discussion in the Supreme Soviet by the USSR Culture Minister Mikhailov himself. He had revealed among other things that the reestablishment of Soviet-American cultural relations was the "new fact" of recent years and that in the not too distant future, this reciprocity would be instanced in the simultaneous staging in both countries of the premiere of films produced by the USA and the USSR; a few days later, a group of American films was shown in Moscow. It was not the first time that American "presence" on Soviet soil had been asserted with such symbolic vigor.

At the Exposition, which ran from the end of July till September of this year, 1959, in the Sokolniki Park, one of the most frequented parks of Moscow and the most romantic, to boot, the Stars and Stripes had endured the heat and inclemency of the Russian summer. We were on hand when a group of Soviet youths ran it up on the pole, while American boys were hoisting, on a twin pennant, the Soviet flag. Nixon had come to the USSR; Krushchev had begun talks with him. A few days later came the announcement of the Soviet premier's visit to the US. Since then much has happened and other fruitful meetings are expected on the road of understanding between the two greatest countries in the world, on the way to peace among nations.

It was not from this juxtaposition of flags, of course, that relaxation took its issue; but it is an undoubted fact that such a juxtaposition is an important and, to a certain extent, decisive symptom of the development today in process, and that, without this meeting and getting to know one another at close range, the peace of the world will be resting on a not very solid basis. An ever larger number of people, these days, are realizing that concrete steps must be taken to overcome the myth of the Bear and the Eagle, of the Russian bear and the American eagle, staring at one another and threatening one another by the coast, without being able to come to grips, since one is a continental power and the other a maritime. The myth which provided the title for a well-known book of the journalist, Victor Alexandrov, is in reality a two-edged sword. It can serve as a demonstration of the tragic uselessness of war, but can also serve to justify power politics, of

"non-recognition" on the American side, the refusal to talk, the notions of "containment" and "roll-back." The fact remains, in any case, that the balance of power that once existed has changed, that today there are no longer any exclusively continental or exclusively maritime powers; that there is substantially no square, on the old strategic chessboard of the world, onto which a player can retreat with any reasonable probability of salvation from nuclear destruction. The world has been made forcibly one, and it is no longer possible to live without the physical existence and thought of the one clashing with the existence and thinking of the other. The American and Soviet crowds who got a sight, at New York and at Moscow, of the very first samples of peaceful coexistence are profoundly aware of this fact. It must be said that the people of the USSR, as a whole, have been aware of this for longer than have the Americans. Their degree of awareness was broader, more active, more "aggressive." In the course of his American trip, Krushchev once remarked ironically during a speech: "Maybe you want to ring down the Iron Curtain again!" It was no mere polemical inversion of a cold war expression; it was in substance a statement of fact. One of the loudest propaganda backfires of recent years was the starting of the -- what shall we call it? -- "cultural" campaign of the West vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The line which the West took toward the East was approximately this: "You know nothing of us, and when people know they won't be able to resist. We know everything about you: here we read and study your works and we sympathize with you. Your government does not dare let the proofs of our successes get through to you."

They didn't know anything. If there was an effort, during the darkest years of the cold war, it was the effort to bar public opinion in the West from any access to the real civil, social and production picture in the USSR. The great illusion, cherished by the leading circles of the West, was that they possessed a cultural deterrent, over and above the military one, against the Soviet camp. It required a shock of cosmic proportions to rouse a wave of curiosity and passionate interest. Actually, the Soviet view had been a sensible and adult one for some time. The army of students and scientists, of workers and peasants, who made possible this change of front, who changed the face of the world, was not acting and thinking as were the Americans. No one in the Soviet Union has ever posed the problem of relations with the West and in particular with the Americans in terms of a supremacy already achieved. The supremacy -- as has always been said and continues to be said today -- is in the system; but results are not achieved once and for all.

Recently, in the course of a trip through the Baltic countries, I happened to pose three times, in Vilna, Riga and Tallinn, the same question: what is the foreign language most studies in your national schools? The reply was always the same: English. I believe this has

been the case for years now, and it is not just a matter of curricula. Furthermore the talks that anyone can have with Soviet citizens from the most varied professions will confirm him in the idea that the attitude of the peoples of the USSR, in their daily work, in the cultural and political development of their way of thinking, is directed in large measure toward America. It is by no means unusual for a technician to say to you, right on his work site, as he explains to you the machines and the speed and tempo of the Plan: "Look, here we're still behind the Americans; but here it's us who are ahead." And they go into close, fine details, touch on the most specific aspects of the great comparison. The great mass of the technicians and specialists (and there are seven and one half million of them in the USSR) know in the first instance the practical goals and the theoretical framework of their own trade; the things they are manufacturing and the things the others, their greatest competitors, are turning out; the researches that preceded them or to which they are serving as stimuli. I happened to visit a chemical plant which functions somewhat as a pilot industry: the output was limited but to the research section was assigned an entire large edifice, in which were working 150 persons. In one room were on display samples of plastics produced in many countries of the West, chief among them the United States. The library was full of American technical books. The confrontation was a direct, almost a physical one. I happened to visit an Institute for surgical instruments, which has researched, among other things, models for suture of blood-vessels, which are unique of their kind: in this Institute, there were translators from the main Occidental languages, capable of making an extract from foreign publications for the use of research scientists. Now it is natural that in this general framework of study and exchange of experience, American technology should have the place of honor and that it should have had it for quite some time. This is, as you will, the most pragmatic and utilitarian way of getting to know America; but it testifies, nonetheless, to an attitude which is no mere passing whim: America is not a fashion for the Soviets; nor is it a rash symbol of an ideological and military bogeyman; it is a concrete reality with which they have for some time now made their reckoning and in whose conquests in many areas they do not in fact refuse to believe.

The psychological relationship which links the overwhelming majority of the Soviet population to America, to the picture of it which they have formed for themselves and are continuing to form at a distance, is certainly more nuanced. The great mistake which was made by the organizers of the Sokolniki Fair, in discharging on Moscow wagon-loads of luxury cars, plastic trinkets and chromium-plated refrigerators, was that of holding that the Soviet attitude to the American way of life was confined to an emotional state, a state of spasmodic curiosity. In actual fact, the Soviet people were not stricken with shock, not only because they were convinced of the necessity of discussing the social

system of the USA before expressing a judgment on the good taste of the refrigerators, but also because they had been for some time au courant of the actual strength of the American production machinery and of that "consumer's world." The great mistake of the organizers led to the great disappointment of the public who ought to have been carried away by a wave of admiration.

The Soviets have known for some time that there exists in the world a factual entity, different from theirs; an entity under the leadership of the Western countries and in general of the capitalist regimes. This undeniable American reality takes the shape alternately of a model or a competitor, depending on whether it is regarded from the technological or from the political plane, or again of a national tradition in the great stream of world culture. No Soviet citizen (and particularly no Soviet government) has ever made the mistake of rubbing the United States out of the map of the world, of repulsing it as an ideological monster, in the way Foster Dulles behaved toward the USSR. Now, the proof of realism which the Soviets have given vis-a-vis the Americans came out in full force just in the course of this Moscow Fair at Sokolniki Park; since then there has been change, in the sense of the evolution of political relations, but the state of mind, the basic impression, remains the same. It is worthwhile to try to depict it, at least in its general outline and by groups of problems.

Last summer's fair coincided with the Nixon trip, and so with the policy statements which the American Vice President made on his arrival and in the course of his mission, and which represented a sort of diplomatic somersault. Nixon declared, all of a sudden as it were, that peaceful coexistence was not enough any more, that what was wanted was a collaboration between nations, and particularly between the two greatest nations of the world. He posed, in other words, the problem of a dialogue of equals; "recognized" the Soviet Union and went so far as to hint at an offer of friendship. The man in the street, in the USSR, noticed this change in tone, concluded that the long siege, the long encirclement was really about to end and disposed himself accordingly. Curiosity ran high: the feeling that the balance of power had changed was accompanied by the desire to get a close-up of the great competitor, of his potential, or, if you prefer, his power. And this curiosity found itself face to face with a "theological" Exposition, in which the other "system" was deploying with the glitter of its wares, with a series of attractive gadgets and tricks of technology. The fair was still on the level of the old policy of "liberation" of the countries of Eastern Europe; it had besides a humanitarian varnish with a little colonial poison. Nixon took from his pocket 100 rubles to give them -- he said -- to a porter who wanted a ticket for the fair. By an unlucky chance, the porter had gone through the civil war in the ranks of the "Reds" and the Vice President had to excuse himself indirectly via a press conference and directly on television.

This was not the worst, at least substantially. The Soviets had gone to the fair with very open minds: they carried along their notebooks, looked at everything, discussed. It was neither distracted nor passing judgments they gave. They matched arguments, started debates, compared figures and data. And all the while a substantial American propaganda machine (the "guides," come from the United States or recruited from the University of Moscow, where there is a group of American students) was functioning in the heart of Moscow, in direct contact with millions of Soviet citizens. It was a picked force, who knew Russian, were well able to answer and argue. The government of the USSR had not been afraid of these "parachutists" of American propaganda. The Soviet visitors, for their part, were looking for signs and witness of the first industrial power of the world: the atomic centers, the ultra-modern vehicles, the tools and implements. They knew from their reading and the ideas gleaned from their professions, what it was all about: they recognized models and mechanisms, figures and results; they came with the intention of checking, admiring, measuring themselves against it. They found instead (even today this is spoken of in tones of stupefaction in Moscow and throughout Russia) what they already had; not -- let us be clear on this point -- in the necessary quantity or the best finish, but still familiar commodities, already in general use. I remember one of many incidents in which I was an active participant. Some country girls were assembling the placards of one of the fair's special exhibits on building. Skyscrapers, country houses, schools, church buildings: Manhattan and Miami and Beverly Hills architecture. "At home, too," said one of the girls, "the new schools are all like that, full of light." Two others were joking about the Macy store: one couldn't understand why it was called that and found it hard to grasp that it was a private concern. Another told me that she did not like a church built like that one, and added that every people has its own usages and customs and so its own religion, although, in the Soviet Union, she observed, this was nowadays a very rare phenomenon. I often asked myself the reasons for this detachment, this attitude which, to an American observer, would have at once appeared to be an obtuse indifference. It wasn't that, obviously. The girls, and a large portion of the Soviet visitors, simply were unable to see the "miracle," to grasp the allure contained in these models: for them a house is a house, just as a refrigerator is a refrigerator. It is not that they lack a feel for quality nor a yen for comfort. What they do lack is that structural impulsion to the satisfaction of the consumer at any cost, which is the mainspring of the American economy and that psychological "watering of the knees" when faced with the latest and smartest consumer article, which the Americans are accustomed to find and foster in cultures similar to their own and influenced by it.

There was something, besides, which the Soviets opposed, as visitors and as citizens, to the potent spell of Sokolniki. I remember that one day a guide of the fair got into an ideological fight with a Soviet citizen. The American had made a point of the fact that the employer, in some cases, assures a personal pension to the worker to assure the worker's continuity in his employ, just as the unemployed receive a special indemnity for a certain time. "Hand-outs," replied the Soviet stubbornly. The American got angry: "Hand-outs! Hand-outs! That is the only word you people know!" That "you people" was significant: it smacked of a long and acrimonious dispute with who knows how many scores of people; it was addressed to an entire nation. Well, now, it was not a case only of a propaganda skirmish: the Soviet interlocutor was opposing his conception of security and dignity to that of "free enterprise." The dignity of work and of work understood as a right, and security for old age are guaranteed by a Soviet state which is everybody's, by a regime and not by an individual. Such a reaction is not simply an ethical fact: it too rests on a framework, an economic and social process, directed, in the first instance, to full employment, to the care and development of the producer, to reducing the price of certain services or making them available gratis. In practical terms: to providing at a nominal fee or outright gratis: housing, water, gas, schooling, transport, medical aid, books, factory cafeterias, child-homes, etc. In this contrast between a system of individual or group (in practice, monopolistic group) economic initiative and increase of consumption and a system of social services, it is easily understandable what was the unconstrained and at the same time "conditioned" attitude of the Soviets. They have, vis-a-vis certain aspects of the life of the Americans, a sense of dismay and of pity; they have the impression that over there something cruelly ridiculous is occurring, that certain definite values are being reduced to commodities, that the organization of the state and of public life incites to an abdication and an alienation. What in the European bourgeois is limited to an aesthetic protest, to a grimace of irony and of skepticism vis-a-vis certain aspects of the individual and collective life of the Americans becomes in the more keenly aware Soviet citizen a moral question, a question of saddened indignation and of decisive repudiation. The fact is that he feels himself heir (because as a matter of principle and in wide measure he has been put in a state to feel himself heir) of an old and common culture, of a solid system of values. He has the sense of a betrayal that the European bourgeoisie no longer has, or if it has, justifies in the name of compromise, of hard tactical necessity and everyday weakness.

Direct knowledge of American life, it is true, the Soviets do not have. Though the notions that the average Soviet citizen possesses along the line of the economic structure and technology of the USA are far and away superior to those that the Americans possess of the

analogous Soviet picture; through familiarity with the great classical American tradition is, in the USSR, a good deal more widespread and in any case not confined to restricted groups of specialists, than is that of Americans with regard to the Russian classics (for modern and contemporary affairs, the situation is different, even though interest is today increasing in the USSR for the major American 19th century writers) still the establishment of any direct contact is still limited almost entirely to the tourists who come from the United States to the Soviet Union. I do not believe that there will be very long to wait before the psychological and economic causes of this lacuna are removed; it is, incidentally only during the past couple of years that the Americans have felt the need of organizing trips to the USSR, and the reason is not only that there are less formalities and more comforts in the hotels. What in any case is evidently excluded as a ridiculous absurdity is a "mass conversion" of the Soviets on their encounter with the actual picture of America. The protagonists of certain claims appeal, finally, to the old theory of the cultural deterrent, the indisputable supremacy of the way of life of the West "cultural bloc" and in its pilot nation, vis-a-vis the USSR.

Not that the Soviets are "physically" unacquainted with the Americans, incidentally: if nothing else, they have seen them go by by the thousands, in the recent past, on the streets of Moscow, of Leningrad, of Kiev; they have seen their clothes, their footwear, their glasses, their cars; and they have seen in the films of the Khrushchev trip through the United States, large segments of America, with the skyscrapers, bridges, factories, highways. And it will not be long before they will get to see still more documentary evidence. Nor is it the case that the Soviets are unacquainted with the true picture of the more advanced West: every year trips abroad and tours are increasing, even though this tourism is not yet of a mass variety.

The forecasts that have been made in the West and above all in America, concerning the secret disposition of the Soviets to look to America as "God's country" are without any doubt anti-historical and politically hopeless. Many today are coming to realize this, on the other side of the Atlantic. Many have changed their minds or are changing it as soon as they visit the USSR and try to put their finger on the exact form of popular consent to the socialist regime. The basic attitude of the Soviets vis-a-vis America is bound up with a political evaluation, which coincides in substance with that of the Moscow government: the United States exist and are strong but must recognize that we too exist and that we too are strong; we want peace with them as they are, since we were not the ones who laid down the laws of their development; but our understanding is that they too want peace with us, as we are and as we advance in accord with our laws. This sense of autonomy is so deeply rooted, so vivid, so proud, as to

appear bound up with the fact of nationality. And there is no doubt that there is, in all this, an historical element, that of the homogeneous and decidedly autonomous development of the great mass of the Russians. But neither is there any doubt that the crucial element in this frame is constituted by the regime, the system in which the Soviet feels himself "planted," to which he feels himself organically bound. It is only a short time ago that the Americans have begun to understand this fact and to accept it in a relatively brief span of time. Why? Because, obviously, when the USSR was weaker and more isolated, they always kept thinking, from 1917 almost to the present day, that that regime was a transitory phenomenon and then too that it was a form of exclusive national and political withdrawal, a little like Japanese feudalism.

Well, the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki -- the first general and practical test of the deterrent, an experiment on "the expendables" prompted by no military necessity, did not put the "Red feudalism" into a state of crisis. Something resisted and something, in the years from 1945 to 1959 has done a prodigious job of consolidation; for the first time in the history of this century, that nation which has for some time been the pilot nation of the West has learned to regard the socialist world as an alternative regime and power at the world level. The Soviet man in the street notices all this, understands very well the significance of certain demands advanced by his government, such as that the status quo, the existence and the autonomy of the "socialist camp" be recognized; just as he understands very well, as applied to himself and to the others the slogan of non-interference in respective internal affairs.

The great new fact which the United States has encountered on the path of their world hegemony and which constitutes the salient feature of the Soviet "cultural bloc" is the clear-cut refusal to be assimilated, to be integrated; a refusal which is backed by a power, an effective capacity, economic, social, military and spiritual, to stand firm on it. The average American has become notoriously accustomed during the years of an uncontested leadership to considering the foreigner as one excluded from the benefits and the comfort which the free enterprise society and it alone, in his opinion, can offer. In this sense, the Americans, even though not always aware of the fact, are the most consistent heirs, at least in a psychological sense, of colonialism.

The very force of expansion of their monopolies, moreover, has put them in the position of being greeted, by wide strata of the subordinate peoples, as paying proprietors and simultaneously as models of living. Their great illusion in presenting the Sokolniki Fair was just this; and it was an illusion which in the sequel showed itself to

be the more anachronistic for the fact that at that very moment a highly qualified representative of the political world, Nixon, was giving the Soviets a patent of "parity" and autonomy.

I happened to be personally present at an incident which showed profoundly, if in a simple manner, how different is the Soviet world from America. I believe that an appeal to it, as a sample of ingenuity and of instinctive feeling, constitutes the best proof of the truth of what I have said above. It was this: at this summer's Moscow Fair, a group of people -- Soviet citizens -- had gathered round the American cars. Among the guides there were some negroes. "We should like," said two rather elderly Russians, "to hear you speak your language." The negroes smiled and began to speak English. "No, not in English, in the language of your people." The other Soviets present began to laugh, the negroes were a little uncertain for a moment and then they too understood. "But our language is English," they replied.

There is an exemplary candor in this brief interchange. It is superfluous to explain that there was not a bit of racist curiosity in it. But it is more important to note what was there in a simple form, like a second nature, and that is a sentiment of profound respect and of affectionate curiosity vis-a-vis the peoples and their cultures. These words came for two peasants, accustomed to consider Tartars and Uzbeks, Georgians and Lithuanians, Russians and Mongols, as so many national groups endowed with their own unquestionable autonomy. Such an attitude, which is put practically and consciously to the test, in an organized way, for example, in the Soviet policy toward the Afro-Asian countries, is the best guarantee of a freedom of conscience and of methods. It is enough to think of the leaven of democracy provided by the policy of aid being carried out by the Russian nation toward the nations of lower cultural level, of the investments calculated to guarantee an autonomous national development which oftentimes remains, for historical or contingent reasons, at the folklore level, but which will without doubt one day bear fruit. Substantially, what the Americans are not finding in the USSR is the "spirit of imitation" to which they have become accustomed in the course of their practical hegemony; integration does not work, this part of the world won't let itself be assimilated. In the Soviets, this refusal of integration has not become a habit, a law of life: in this sense too they are inside the system and apply its principles to the other world system. Their stand and their way of life are definitive and it is on this basis that they treat with the other part of the world. Within this framework they are disposed to understand and are desirous of so doing; they admire American technology, read the American classics, study organizational methods and practical measures, propose to overtake and surpass the level of material life of the greatest capitalist power of the world. Well, the

stages of this competition are now wide open and there are many of them and in practically all fields, they are so many details of a frame whose basic structure remains original and constant. The movement is within a system: it is within this system that the Soviets can look at America and feel themselves as a multinational State and as individuals. It is within this system that the Soviets have the deliberate intention of working out their state and their human future, their ideological charge, as an alternative, freely open to the world.

America in the Mirror

Rinascita

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Gianfranco Corsini

The end of a decade which began tragically with the Korean War has been greeted in the United States in an atmosphere entirely different from that in which began 1950; and, if the American flag on the façade of the Pushkin Museum has assumed for the Muscovites the symbolic significance of an era that has now reached its end, the banner of the USSR at the entrance of the Waldorf Astoria has constituted for the New Yorkers the first omen of peace. It was not by chance that the Associated Press named Premier Krushchev "man of the year," while Time accorded Eisenhower an analogous distinction, confirming indirectly the AP evaluation. It was in fact from the historic meeting of Eisenhower and Krushchev that there stemmed that general sense of well-being for the present and confidence in the future, expressed by the great majority of American public opinion in the year-end balance sheets.

Exactly a year ago, when putting together for these same pages my first fleeting impressions, I could not but evoke the image of an America, disconcerted and perplexed, intent on looking at itself in the mirror and inquiring anxiously of the future. It seems incredible that the disquietude with which the Americans were facing 1959 should have been replaced by the serenity with which they look, today, to a future rich in those things which can only be realized and enjoyed in an atmosphere of peace and of serene competition. But it would be wrong to think that the state of mind of American public opinion has changed unexpectedly, only in virtue of certain specific occurrences. On the contrary, it appears ever more evident today that the laborious process of the revision of the policy and of the mentality typical of the cold war has been a long and a difficult one, and has not yet borne all its fruits. Still, I believe it can be stated with certainty that the catalytic element was, for the Americans, the "discovery" of the USSR. The Russian "complex" has been overcome little by little by direct knowledge of the USSR, of its world, of his achievements and of its

people. This has served to replace the myths of the past with the direct and genuine experience; propaganda has been replaced with a first more objective evaluation of the facts.

When the Des Moines Register asked a young woman student what she thought had impressed Krushchev most, in his trip through the US, she replied without hesitation: "The press, because it surprised even me!" For the Americans were greatly disillusioned to observe that the press -- in which they were used to having confidence -- still refused to see and to understand what they had already seen and understood by themselves: a picture of the Soviet, different from that artificially created in years of propaganda and mystification. It is therefore not surprising that, in replying to a Gallup poll conducted by Look at year's end "the majority of Americans replied that they do not believe that the government always tells the truth" and added that "the Number One problem for America is to keep peace." In another poll conducted by the San Francisco Chronicle, directly after the Krushchev visit, the replies are still more illuminating. Of those questioned, 87.5% declared that they believed that "the relations between the two countries have been improved as a result of the visit," and 81.6% said that they believed it had "strengthened Krushchev's desire to live in peace with the West;" while 60.9% said they were convinced that "the government of the United States is not doing everything possible to convince the Russians of its desire to meet them half way." From the same poll, it emerged that 97.9% of the Americans questioned in California believe "in the will to peace of the Russian people" and 39.5% are convinced that "the USSR will succeed in surpassing the United States in production."

An analysis of all the polls conducted in 1959 on American public opinions would yield results very similar to these cited and it is logical to ask oneself how much an upset could have occurred in such a short time; above all, taking into account that the press, radio and television line (to say nothing of the propaganda line of the government agencies calculated to control public opinion) has not gone any substantial distance in this direction. To answer this question even summarily, two essential factors must be kept in mind: in the first place, the inherent purport of the recent Soviet scientific achievements (without underestimating the revolutionary aspects of the foreign policy of Krushchev, to which however American public opinion was less exposed) and secondly, the nature of the American information media, in which coexist a traditional habit of objective reporting and an equally prevailing habit of editorial tendentiousness. Suffice it, in connection with this latter, to cite the example of Krushchev's trip through the United States. Television followed the Soviet leader almost without interruption, step by step, and millions of Americans saw, heard, observed him in all the phases of his trip. Each speech was of

course followed by the comments of those assigned to the "orientation" of public opinion, but the opportunity for direct observation reduced in large measure the efficacy of the "interpretations" furnished the TV viewers. And what usually happened was that the sets were switched off at the appearance of these boring commentators. The same was true for radio and the press; and here -- where the readers were able to make their opinions felt -- it could be seen with what disappointment were greeted the distortions and preaching of the editorial writers. "What is out of kilter in the brains of those who are against Ike simply because he has invited Krushchev to his country?" wrote two "just naturalized White Russians" to the Los Angeles Evening Herald Express, and, after expressing their hopes for "a time when we shall all be brothers again," they blessed Eisenhower for "having tried to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the world." According to a San Francisco public opinion pollster, whom I questioned, the reelection of Mayor Christopher came with such a large margin of votes predominantly "for his cordial and realistic behavior toward Krushchev," and the California Democratic Party Chairman, Roger Kent, told me in all seriousness that "at bottom, even the Presidential elections are in the hands of the Soviet Premier." In short, more and more, politicians and American public figures are being judged by their attitude to the USSR or to the present Eisenhower policy. The present crisis of the Democratic Party stems precisely from its incapacity to make its own the spirit of "coexistence" which seems to animate the majority of American public opinion.

Let us now see what the best informed portion of the American people "knows" and "thinks" of the USSR; and let us try to discover just when it got to know the real picture of the Soviet Union. The date of the launching of the first sputnik is generally considered as the moment of shock, but I believe we should look further back, to the Korean War, in order to catch the negative moment of this new awareness. The moment, that is, in which the Americans began to lose confidence in their power, in their world supremacy. Until the sputnik launching, however, the general approach to the Soviet reality remained of an ideological kind and the whole polemical accent was put on the ideology, while information on concrete matters, capable of catching the imagination of the Americans, remained few and far between; little was known about the way of life, the economic, industrial and scientific development of the USSR. The special government agencies, the scientific institutes and those who for professional reasons had to make their daily accounts with that reality knew many things; but the great mass of the reports did not reach the general public except in a contradictory fashion, filtered through a thick propaganda veil. With sputnik on top of them, the situation changed and even the average American had to come down to earth again and compare his own notions with the evidence. In a country inquisitive by nature, used to the constant

pressure of publicity, such an event could not escape the general laws of this publicity mentality. The press had to satisfy the curiosity of the public, the information media had to break the veil of silence and of propaganda to explain the facts; and in order to explain them, had to first of all carry out the indispensable work of bringing up-to-date public opinion as the situation demanded. Besides the concomitant element must not be underestimated of an international situation calculated to favor such an undertaking. The sequel is well enough known and the state of mind stemming from the first encounter with the Soviet reality seems to me well summed up in a letter addressed to the Christian Science Monitor immediately after the Lunik launching. "I ask myself," wrote a reader of the influential daily, "how many have shared my reactions to the recent successful launching of the Soviet moon-rocket. I was disconcerted by the first sputnik because it seemed to me a menace and a sign of the existence of a military potential superior to our capacity at that moment; but since then we have demonstrated our capacity to launch large objects into space and (according to what I have been given to understand) reestablished the military balance. Now comes the Soviet moon shot; a brilliant scientific conquest which we should strive with every means at our disposal to emulate. But if we cannot have for the moment that ideal cooperation which should be sought in undertakings of this sort, does it not seem that competition in this field is the best way for both countries to demonstrate what they can do? More flexing of our scientific muscles is the stage through which we should go to arrive at harmony, but I hope that, in good time, both of us will recognize the advantages which could be had from a common utilization of our resources and of our talents."

So, scarcely a year after the sputnik launching, the propaganda slant of "military value" of the Soviet achievements had been outmoded, and in the mind of the man in the street it had assumed its real significance; so much so that a woman reader of the Des Moines Register could write from an Iowa village: "The Soviet challenge is the most formidable of our history and at the center of their system stands the wish to give a better life to the Soviet people, to the entire people. The essence of our system, on the other hand, based as it is on profit for the individual, is only profits for those who succeed in making them. It is an objective which tends to divide and pit one against the other, and under this banner there cannot be any great national unity or great collective aims... Now, I ask myself, can our system be reformed enough and quickly enough to meet the people, all the people and make of ours a unified society, unified in the pursuit of a single aim? If this cannot be done, we are faced with the prospect of an inevitable decline." Here we are at the antipodes of the position of open ideological struggle of the cold war, and the Soviet experiment now becomes the stimulus for a long look around, a comparison of the two civilizations and a search for the best method of mastering

the competition of the USSR. What the Americans see themselves up against seems to me well defined in another letter to the New York Herald Tribune from a Pennsylvania woman: "What we are seeing today is the emergence of a great nation of 200 million people with enormous natural resources; and however much we hate Communism, the fact remains that it has succeeded in achieving an industrial development in Russia such as no Tsarist regime of the past has ever managed."

With this reality the Americans seem now decided to make their reckoning and 1959 will have to be remembered, when all is said and done, as the year in which they discovered what their contestant was really like. This has also been the year of the most intensive cultural and tourist exchanges between the two countries, in which the Moseyev ballet and the Soviet hockey team sent enormous crowds of spectators wild with enthusiasm; in which the most popular TV program, the Ed Sullivan Show, broadcast an entire program from Moscow. And it was at the end of this program that Ed Sullivan trained his TV cameras on the streets of the Soviet capital and invited his fellow-Americans "to take a good look at this humane, kindly and peace-loving people, with which it is up to us to live in harmony and friendship." American educators are engaged in the study of the Soviet school system and in some American schools is already being used the scientific equipment adopted in similar institutions in the USSR; the economists are able to read every month the integral translation of Economic Questions and Russian is being taught in an ever greater number of schools and universities. More Soviet films will be seen in 1960 and the Bolshoi ballet will cross the ocean for the first time, while it is expected that 30 or 40 thousand American tourists will visit the USSR during the coming year. The Moscow offices of the great American dailies are filling with a growing number of reporters and of specialists and in the New York Times every aspect of Soviet life is being followed daily with the same diligence with which London and Paris are being covered. Seventeen articles on the USSR were counted once in a single number of this big daily. There is also the intention of increasing the TV program coverage of the Soviet Union and the forthcoming trip of Eisenhower to the USSR will add another important link to the chain of contacts between the two countries. It seems hard, in the present situation, to imagine a return to the 1950 situation.

As they look at 1960, the Americans no longer feel themselves "menaced" by the USSR, only "stimulated" to roll up their sleeves so as to do the best they can in the competitive race. At the moment, they have confidence in their system and in their ability, but there are not lacking voices who claim that the present structure of American society is inadequate to such a challenging match. But as opposed to what happened in 1950, these voices are no longer wishing for the destruction of military containment of the USSR, but rather the

renovation of their own society. "If someone were to ask me," said George Kennan a few weeks ago in Washington, "whether a country, lacking any high sense of national ends, accustomed to put the accent essentially on personal well-being, with a chronic scarcity of social services and an excess of mechanical gadgets, with not enough social discipline, so that it cannot even guarantee the steady functioning of its major industries; if someone were to ask me what prospects such a people has of mastering the competition of a society with clear goals, a serious and disciplined nation like the Soviet Union, I must admit that my reply would be: none whatever."

Spoken by one who only ten years ago had elaborated a policy calculated to impose on the USSR "unconditional surrender," these words are the confirmation of the distance traveled during the period which we have just left behind us.

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4. THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF THE DUTCH SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY (SWP), 23-24 JANUARY 1960

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Speech of Gerben Wagenaar

Comrade Wagenaar began his speech by stating that our Congress ought not to concern itself exclusively with present-day political problems, but also with the question as to what the perspective is for socialism in the Netherlands.

These problems must be approached on a realistic basis. Any revolutionary bombast, employed in this connection, would be a useless burden. Sectarian wishful dreams cannot be of any help; political (or shall we say religious) fanaticism will only serve to further diminish the socialistic influence.

Naturally, one should also avoid a course of uniformity as well as the abandonment of the essential characteristics of socialism, such as has now taken place officially in the PvdA (Partij van den Arbeid -- Labor Party).

The starting point must be that socialism inevitably springs from the capitalistic system of society and from the conscious activity of the socialists based upon this insight, the "insight into the necessity," as Engels -- following in the footsteps of Hegel -- called it.

Our Congress wishes to contribute to the discussion within -- and surrounding -- the socialistic movement in our country. More specifically, our Congress wants to contribute toward the future formation of a powerful leftist trend.

This must be, and ought to be, the limit of our aspirations; it is, however, extremely important and absolutely necessary for the future development.

International Conditions

Thereupon, Comrade Wagenaar first took under consideration the international situation which is characterized by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the world's population is actively engaged -- in some manner or other -- in preserving the peace. Disarmament, lessening of tension, and peace are the catchwords which can literally be heard in each country, and which originate among the most diverse population groups and in all classes of society.

This is the result of the emergence of the working classes, especially in those countries where they constitute the government.

Thus, the working classes may claim the credit -- which can hardly be adequately described -- of having saved the entire world from total destruction through an atomic war. Such credit is owed primarily to the Soviet Union, but also to all other socialistic countries which have produced the power necessary to effect this reversal toward LIFE.

This power alone -- even though it was formidable -- was not sufficient. Exactly this is the misconception of the sectarians, to characterize it mildly.

It is the sectarians who, in recent years, have only talked along the lines of "Just wait until the red banners start waving along our eastern frontier," and who only recently -- just to name an example -- have reminded the Railroad Spur Line Board of the fate awaiting them when the "socialistic revolution in the Netherlands will come about."

In short, "De Waarheid" ["The Truth"] contains such examples almost every day.

Apart from the power of the socialistic nations whose goal is the pursuit of peace, attention must be called to a new factor which has arisen after World War II.

This factor concerns the actions taken by the masses of Asia, Africa, South America, etc., in furtherance of independence and peace. For the first time in their existence, millions of people in the former as well as in the still existing colonies have been actively fighting for peace. Countries such as India and Indonesia and continents such as Africa -- and even Cuba at the very threshold of the United States -- have played an important part in this struggle. The new aspect of this development is that passive resistance has been ruled out altogether in favor of active and very effective political action.

The coalition between the socialistic nations and the so-called neutral countries, which was undertaken in the interest of world peace, is extremely progressive and of absolutely vital importance for all mankind.

It can be said that, without any doubt, the life or death of our civilization depends upon this cooperation.

Whoever disturbs this unity, acts -- if judged objectively -- in a reactionary manner, even though he may, for instance, be justified geographically or historically, as is the case in the present border difficulties which the Chinese People's Republic has with India.

Whatever is heaviest, must weigh the most -- a fact which is evidently recognized more keenly in the Soviet Union than, for example, in certain circles within the Chinese People's Republic.

It is not possible to discard this matter by pointing to the heroic victory of the Chinese revolution. Neither should the impressive reforms, which have taken place in the country, be used as an argument in an effort to prove that this aspect of the Chinese foreign policy deserves our unanimous approval. In any event, the government of the Soviet Union has declared its active neutrality in this conflict and has urged both governments (thus also the Chinese) to settle the matter peacefully. Meanwhile, the important cause of peace, on which everything hinges, has nevertheless been injured, and imperialistic circles have been given a chance to enter into the dispute which thus developed.

It is quite clear, without any further elaboration, that the Chinese People's Republic must be seated in the United Nations, which would reduce the chance of any such friction, and which would result in a situation where 600 million people could -- and undoubtedly would -- act forcefully and in full agreement with all other peace powers.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as Mr. Wagenaar stated subsequently, has our full approval.

This policy is not recognized as the right kind of policy in all Communist circles. One still encounters, here and there, individuals who can disassociate themselves only with great effort from the "wonderful" black-and-white concepts which prevailed in the Communist movement prior to 1956, that means prior to the 20th Congress of the CPSU /Communistische Partij Sowjet-Unie -- Communist Party of the Soviet Union/.

Is there anybody who does not remember the immortal words of Mr. de Groot: "All matters must be expressed in black and white. There are some people who like the intermediate color gray. However, gray is the color of the jackasses ..." ?

We all know what the result of this genial -- and undeniably simple -- solution of all problems has been.

This is where the difference of opinion arises which has not been overcome yet in the international field, although it appears that the Krushchev trend is gaining ground and is providing the keynote due to the fact that the population masses are backing it up.

In the field of actual politics, this finds expression in the trips to the United States of leading members of the Soviet government and of Krushchev himself, in visits to the Soviet Union by American government representatives, and in the trip to the Soviet Union which President Eisenhower will undertake in the near future. Government representatives of other capitalistic nations as well have either visited -- or made plans to visit shortly -- the Soviet Union.

The next step will be the upcoming summit conference.

It is a step on a rather long road, which -- nevertheless -- has resulted in a noticeable lessening of tension. Danger will continue to exist as long as there is any capitalism; a world catastrophe, however, must be avoided.

We must do whatever we can in our country, so as to assure that not a single group is being lost which is willing to participate, on the side of the righteous, in this pre-eminent struggle.

It seems to us that our task in this respect also entails our assistance in the formation in our country of a real workers' party, to be established on a class basis.

#### Conditions in the Netherlands

Turning to the conditions prevailing in our country, Wagenaar stated that the De Quay government was still primarily following the cold war pattern, with a remarkable inclination to hitch on to Western Germany -- a country where Nazis are represented in the government, and where the climate is still such that it foments pernicious anti-semitism and brown plague.

We must consistently and forcefully stimulate in our country the orientation toward a different kind of policy, namely the furtherance of peaceful coexistence.

In opposition to the disgusting comedy by Staal and other "resistance heroes" in Oberlaender's entourage, whose Nazi past is well known to everyone, we appeal to everybody to turn the upcoming observance of May 5th into a demonstration against Fascism and loathsome anti-semitism which will leave no room for misinterpretation.

The same applies, as far as the immediate future is concerned, to the commemoration of the great February strike.

We have no desire of stirring up any new dissension. We are not interested in the fact that the picture of the Dock Worker is confronted with members who are of the opinion that the procession is taking place for their benefit.

The procession is taking place in commemoration of the dead and as a reminder of the great unanimous struggle of 1941, thus serving as a rousing appeal for the present struggle.

The rest is a matter of secondary importance and is of no interest to us.

#### Government Policy

The De Quay government has initiated the free wage determination. The result of this has now become quite evident: While profits have sky-rocketed to an incredible extent (AKU 35.6 million guilders NET, as compared with 21.8 million in 1958; Rotterdamse Bank 23 million, as compared with 19 million), so far only about 700,000 workers have been granted an increase in wages. Prices continue to rise, a 20% increase in rentals has been announced effective April 1st; the government, however, refuses to shorten the working hours and to reduce armament expenditures. Government employees are treated in an outrageously unfair manner, the shortcomings in the educational field increase, and the neglect of the "forgotten groups" becomes greater.

The fighting position of the workers against this government has been weakened by the adventurousness of the CPN /Communistische Partij Nederland -- Communist Party of the Netherlands/ in the field of labor unions. Since this is known to you, comrade Wagenaar continued, I will not enlarge any further upon this point.

First, everybody was reproved who dared to assert that it would be advisable to try to achieve the greatest possible unity between the NVV /Nederlandsche Verbond van Vakverenigingen -- Dutch Association of Labor Unions/ and the EVC. There followed a "special EVC 1958." Later on, the rallying cry was issued: Everybody to the NVV! Oh, sure, we still maintain (with an eye abroad) some sort of a "centrum."

Let us maintain! Of course, this is unacceptable to the NVV. Besides, it is only too well known there how Mr. de Groot and his followers interpret the concept of unity. One might well reason as follows: If he should play the same tricks in the NVV that he practiced in the EVC, we would know what to expect. From their point of view, you can hardly blame them.

The motto "Unity of Socialists and Communists" thus becomes, of course, a motto painted in water color on a piece of soaked cardboard. A valueless and unsavory gesture, which is, however, required if one wants to pose -- in certain foreign newspapers and at certain conventions where, unfortunately, far too much attention is paid to the affairs of other people's countries -- as the shining Dutch image of "the great hero" of Marxism-Leninism.

#### Why We Founded the SWP

After citing, as the latest example of the sectarian policy of the CPN, Seegers' blunder in the Amsterdam City Council, party member Wagenaar arrived at the conclusion that this disease within the CPN is incurable.

Proceeding on this assumption, he further stated that -- independent of this group which was now in disrepute -- something else had to come into being which would make a new beginning possible.

This is the reason why we established the SWP.

We do not stand alone on the left side of the socialistic movement. During recent months, contacts have been established with socialists of the PvdA, the PSP, and young people -- either belonging to either one of the aforementioned parties or not organized at all -- whom we had not known previously.

The discussion of our program is not only carried on by our members, but also by and with other socialists.

These are the ripples on the surface of the water; and although they do not disclose much as yet about the trends, they will, nevertheless, determine the course of the water.

Our program is a class program which we have worked out as a crystallization plank for those Marxists in our country who have not lost the socialistic perspective which is based on scientific insight.

We are well aware of the fact that the Dutch workers are not very interested in politics. This is due to the temporary welfare state and the economic boom. It is also due to the manner in which socialism has been brought into disrepute by the CPN.

But no matter how smooth the surface may appear, the class system has not disappeared. Not that we are the ones to hold on to it! But the actual laws of the capitalistic society prove the existence of classes and, thus, of class struggle.

It is possible for such class struggle to subside temporarily. When the time comes, it will flare up again and assert its rights; at such time, the socialists must steer it in the right direction. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to found a party, to establish power, to seek cooperation with other Marxists, and to outline our program.

Our party accomplishes a necessary function, and its establishment was unavoidable.

We realize that, in the beginning, we cannot say: This is the dawn of socialism in the Netherlands!

This would be an unrealistic phrase.

The SWP is a starting point -- nothing more and nothing less.

For that reason, the publication of our fundamental program with its socialistic perspective is so significant and, in my opinion, an extremely important achievement of our young party.

Previously, the argument in opposing the establishment of the SWP was that there were no groups capable of formulating a program such as this. We have experienced extensive discussions involving this program, and dozens of amendments have been submitted.

This shows the interest our circle takes in this matter and also offers proof of the democratic nature of the party.

Several aspects of the program are much more suited to Dutch traditions and to the Dutch national character than has ever been the case previously.

There are, for example, the ideas concerning the internal party situation.

It is -- and will be -- unacceptable for a Dutchman that the minority must be silent opposite the majority.

The minority must be in a position to express itself. This, in turn, is of great significance in making the right decisions. Without a minority, there would actually no longer be any brakes.

Here, in the Netherlands, we are concerned with this to a far greater extent than practically anywhere else.

This is good, and we are actually proud of it.

It may well be said that our people possess a remarkable mentality. We are aware of the fact that people often scoff at the awkward Dutchmen who do not behave nicely in foreign countries, who do not sing pretty songs, and who are somewhat conceited, etc.

But that is probably the way that all of us are to a certain extent.

This very mentality, however, was the basis for the strike in February 1941. We in this country -- and especially our workers -- are not very fond of boastful words. But when the Nazi occupation forces -- who still enjoyed a conversational footing with a number of prominent fellow countrymen -- started their shameful acts against our Jewish compatriots in 1941, we Dutchmen said: NO.

In this connection, we would like to stress the fact that it was the Communists who gave the signal for the start of the strike. If it had not been for the love of freedom and the civil courage, as outlined above, the strike would not have been possible. The strike was unique in Europe.

There is no other country where a general strike against antisemitism was called.

The recognition and realization of this mentality, which is deeply rooted in our history, is one of the most significant items in our fundamental program.

Nobody can disregard the Dutch traditions of freedom, since freedom has always a higher value in our country than bread or even life itself.

We know that the bourgeoisie is trampling down these concepts of freedom, and it does not surprise us.

The working classes, however, must guard these ideas.

The socialists, based upon their class concept, must transform this freedom into an actual complete freedom -- politically as well as economically -- so that, as far as future generations are concerned, they can point not only to a beautiful tradition, but to present achievement and to a fine perspective for the future.

Our Perspective

Comrades, party member Wagenaar said in concluding his speech, all of you have participated in the discussions surrounding our program. Your appearance at the meetings as well as here is proof that you are looking toward the future with full confidence.

Our struggle is necessary, as we have outlined in detail. Its chances to succeed are good.

People such as you, who have been through a mire of disappointments, constitute the strong nucleus of a new grouping which has learned the lessons of the past.

In the international field, the development has been progressing ever since the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

In due time, it will also reach our country.

In the world at large, this development will result in closer co-operation between Socialists and Communists.

All sorts of partition walls have already been razed by history.

In view of the victory of socialism in large parts of the world, for instance, it has become evident that a violent uprising is not the only way to achieve socialism in all countries. The concept of "revolutionary change" has now more or less assumed the meaning of a change in ownership relations in accordance with Marxism; it seems certain that, within the foreseeable future, a majority of the Dutch people will favor this concept.

A lot of work must be done, comrades. We now have to enlarge our party, further expand its publicity, publicize its program, recruit members, and consolidate the organization.

We sympathize with the EVC and its struggle for wage improvements as well as with all labor union representatives who are in favor of active struggle.

We will attempt to keep in step with the powerful international progressive movement, in furtherance of peace, independence, and a better life.

And we add to this: in furtherance of socialism.

We realize that this future perspective will not come to pass tomorrow. But if all of us help, it will come about in the Netherlands as well.

Comrades, in this sense I wish you a successful Congress and a favorable outcome of the struggle before long!

#### The Discussion at our Congress

The available space does not permit us to print in full the many significant contributions to the discussion made by the delegates. We must limit ourselves to a short resume.

There was, at the very beginning, a suggestion by the Haarlem division, submitted in form of a motion of order, as explained by party member Misset-Vreem. This motion proposed that the Congress accept the draft of the fundamental program -- amended in accordance with the recorded reports -- and instruct the commission, which had prepared the draft, to combine the draft and the suggested amendments in a new comprehensive account, thus removing the stigma of hastiness. This was to be done "in order to prevent time-consuming and fruitless discussion."

Gert van Wagenaar advised against adoption of this motion. "Where exactly lie that stigma of hastiness?" he asked. He was of the opinion that the discussion would definitely not be fruitless, since the commission could base its future activities on this very discussion. The speaker was also hopeful that parties in foreign countries, which will receive the program, would come up with comments which might be useful to us.

Henk Gortzak suggested, instead of adopting the motion, to pass a resolution according to which all suggestions would be brought up for discussion and voted upon; in addition, he suggested to instruct the commission to continue its activities, so that -- taking into consideration the comments which were offered -- suggestions for further improvement of the program could be worked out. This proposal was unanimously adopted by the Congress.

Lydia Plekker (Amsterdam) did not approve of the criticism of the Chinese policy in the Indian matter, as voiced in the introduction. She also criticized the policy of peaceful coexistence which she considered to be incompatible with the promotion of the colonial and proletarian revolution.

D. Van Tijn (Amsterdam) objected to the fact that the struggle for peace, as incorporated in the program, was called the most significant task of the working classes. The most significant task is the class struggle. Whoever wants to oppose war, must expose its origins which are to be found in the capitalistic system. Is peaceful coexistence under capitalism possible? The struggle for peace is unalterably linked with the overthrow of capitalism and, thus, with the class struggle. The suggested addition to the pertinent paragraph of the program has her approval; but might it not be possible to formulate it even more strongly?

A delegate from Amsterdam-Zuid discussed the struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism.

The speaker noted that revisionism was characterized by the Communist parties (and rightly so) as an expression of bourgeois ideology; it was more difficult to understand, however, why they referred to it as the greatest danger, especially in Eastern Europe (see the declaration issued at the meeting of the 12 Communist parties in Moscow in November 1957). This declaration is even less comprehensible when it comes to exposing the origins of dogmatism and sectarianism. However, any discussion which is not based upon the aforementioned declaration is being disposed of as revisionism; and criticism of CPSU communists is condemned as wrong, since it would signify a weakening of international solidarity. Communists must be able, however, to criticize each other's work without interfering in each other's affairs.

Various delegates stated that they did not agree with the position taken by Lydia Plekker. A young female comrade from Amsterdam, on the other hand, shared her opinion that the interests of the socialistic revolution must be given priority over the matter of unity in the struggle for peace.

Hoogcarspel (Rotterdam) did not agree with her criticism of the Soviet Union for not supporting the colonial peoples in their struggle. The very existence of the Soviet Union represents a powerful assistance in this struggle. There is no question as to what is of primary importance -- peace struggle or class struggle -- for the struggle for peace is part of the class struggle. This also applies to the international policy of the Soviet Union. Under certain circumstances, it may be necessary in this respect to do something which the dogmatist might consider in violation of the theory.

The speaker took up the comment of another debater who was of the opinion that, during a period of increasing productivity, the workers can enforce higher wages in spite of the decline of the average profit ratio. In fact, the profit ratio generally declines during times of

increased productivity; this continued increase in the productivity will create insurmountable difficulties for the capitalistic system, according to Hoogcarspel, and for this reason he definitely wanted to have this matter included in the fundamental program. The economic crisis is unavoidable, and it is absolutely not the case -- as has been asserted in certain circles -- that we are living in a welfare state. It is not a rare occurrence that a dock worker in Rotterdam is forced to spend one third of his net weekly income for house rental. Only the social revolution is capable of bringing about prosperity for the workers. This need not necessarily be an armed uprising; even according to Marx, the revolution may take place in the form of a long-drawn-out process. The speaker approves of the general outline of the draft for the fundamental program; in certain aspects, however, it might be formulated more effectively or more to the point. Intellectuals and agricultural workers are neglected in this program.

Flameling (Hilversum) is of the opinion that the possession of articles which were not formerly known -- such as motorcycles, washing machines, refrigerators, and television sets -- is no proof for the workers that there actually is "prosperity." They have a right to own these items, but most workers cannot pay for them out of their regular wages. Real prosperity is only known to those who own the raw materials and the means of production.

Janie Dормаar is pleased that the original paragraph about the PvdA will be replaced in the program by a better one. The danger involved in the PBO ought not to be underestimated.

Fransen (Amsterdam) states that our fundamental program offers a socialistic perspective. Many problems, however, demand our attention, which could not be worked out in the program. We do not claim either that these problems have already been solved; but we are, at least, aware of their existence, and that is worth quite something. We are also of the opinion -- in contrast with what we have seen happen in the PvdA -- that the problems can be solved on the basis of Marxism. The development of all details has not precisely followed the course which Marx envisaged when he wrote "Capital." Particularly, it is not true that the workers are being forced through hunger and misery to revolt against capitalism. The fact that many bad conditions are a matter of the past is due to the struggle of the working classes themselves, and not to the philanthropy of the capitalists. The Social-Democrats point to what has been achieved. But ever since Bernstein they have tried -- in view of the results that had either been achieved or were anticipated -- to gain admittance for the reform movement among the working classes. The Social-Democratic movement has become a drag on the development of socialism and now even numbers opponents of socialism among its ranks; its class cooperation, meanwhile, leads to a public attitude which is directed against the interests of the workers. The

relatively favorable development of the economic situation plays into the hands of such an attitude. It is our task to keep the idea alive that capitalism will never give the workers more than part of what they are entitled to: namely the entirety. Thus, it is necessary that the working classes take over the means of production and put themselves in charge of the production. Besides, the position of the working classes is -- even in a period of economic boom -- no cause for exaltation. In the Mecca of capitalism -- in the United States -- a large part of the working population exists on less than the subsistence minimum. In our country, there are a few cases where workers make 100 guilders or more; many of them, however, get home with only 70 guilders, 60 guilders, or even less. We have little unemployment here; but will this continue to be the case? How will capitalism be able to solve the problems of technical progress, of mechanization, and -- before long -- of disarmament? We do not wait -- like P. de Groot -- for a crisis to put the necessary wind into our sails. But we would like to have a powerful and purposeful socialistic movement which strives for solution of the aforementioned problems in the interest of the working population. On a world-wide scale, the development is progressing in a socialistic direction, as far as the power of the socialistic nations, the collapse of the colonial system, and the struggle of the working classes in the capitalistic countries are concerned. We, therefore, do not need any revolutionary romanticism in order to inspire the working classes; but we can offer the perspective that -- in the face of a powerful socialistic movement -- the bourgeoisie will no longer have the power to reverse this movement either through war or through Fascism.

Rutgers (Amsterdam) is of the opinion that the development might well proceed at a faster pace than foreseen by party member Wagenaar, according to his introduction.

Han (Amsterdam) recalled the typographer strike during which he personally saw a sample of the fatal attitude of the CPN management and of de Groot personally. In his own humorous way he told how he was amazed by the New Year's proclamation in "De Waarheid," according to which everyone who understands his times becomes a member of the CPN. He had thought this over and had come to the conclusion: Whoever understands the CPN, becomes a member of the NVV; whoever understands the NVV, becomes a member of the PvdA; whoever understands the PvdA, becomes a member of the PSP; and whoever understands the PSP, becomes a member of the SWP. But that is something that I already am, and that is why I am standing here; obviously, I have a good concept of the times I am living in.

Huiskens (Utrecht) believes that the fundamental program ought to contain a statement to the effect that we are striving for unity within the labor movement, even though this is a very comprehensive problem. He inquires why the program talks about the expropriation of large real estate holdings, and not of real estate holdings in general.

H. Blom (Amsterdam) makes a plea for a lively and attractive kind of schooling. Kalinin had issued a similar appeal as early as 1926 (About Communist Education); but it seems that even at the present time education in the Soviet Union is still lacking in many respects. We must see to it that this does not happen to us.

H. Gortzak talked about the manner in which "De Brug" is managed by its editorial staff. In the beginning, they were too much inclined to keep the discussion within limits which were too narrow in scope. The editorial staff does not consider it appropriate to comment on each letter to the editor. This, however, has resulted in a situation where the views of the editorial staff itself have sometimes not been sufficiently displayed. In expressing criticism, the purpose is not to criticize as such, but to achieve improvement by way of criticism. It ever seemed that -- after the 20th Congress -- this was also recognized in the Soviet Union. In this connection, the speaker reminded the attending reporter of "De Waarheid," F. Schoonenberg, of the review of De Baanbreker /"The Trailblazer"/ which he published during that period in "Politiek en Cultuur" /"Politics and Culture"/.

Berben Wagenaar is in agreement with a great deal of what was said during the discussion.

As far as the India-China question is concerned, however, L. Plekkenhorst has not been able to convince him that the fault rests with India. Concerning the problem of achieving socialism through peaceful means, he considers it absolutely wrong to say that the revolution must definitely be arrived at through parliamentary channels, just as it is wrong to say that this will be possible only through use of force. The struggle for the attainment of socialism is a struggle about the ownership of the means of production. A temporary labor government or a government including the PvdA does not in itself represent socialism. The speaker does not believe either that we live in a welfare state. It is not right just to compare the situation with what it used to be 40 or 50 years ago, and to sit back contentedly; on the other hand, it is not right either to give the impression as if workers' families everywhere found themselves in a state of utmost distress. As far as the support of the Soviet Union for the colonial peoples is concerned, the speaker is of the opinion that such support is already of great significance. One cannot expect the Soviet Union to jeopardize the peace by lending armed assistance.

Just because we are confident that the development in our country will also proceed in the direction toward socialism, and that, in winning over the majority of our population to the cause of a socialistic society, we must make our own contributions, have we proceeded toward establishing the SWP. In this connection, we have no use for empty rhetoric, but can borrow sufficient power and enthusiasm from scientific socialism.

Resolution Passed at the Constituent Congress of the SWP

The Constituent Congress of the Socialistische Werkers Partij /Socialist Workers Party/ was held in Amsterdam on January 23rd and 24th, 1960. On the basis of the goals, as outlined in the fundamental program adopted by this Congress, the party will take part in the class struggle and in the political life of the Netherlands.

The Congress is opposed to those views which hold that the class struggle does no longer exist in our present-day capitalistic society, and that a social system -- aimed at everybody's welfare -- is possible without replacing the capitalistic method of production by a socialistic production setup. The emergence in our country of the De Quay government has actually deepened the class differences and clearly shows that the working population can maintain its level of existence only through constant pressure and unanimous action.

As set forth in its fundamental program, the SWP shall: "lead the way for, and support, the working classes and all strata of the working population in the struggle of pursuing their interests in the economic, social, and cultural fields. The SWP shall also be constantly engaged in strengthening the socialistic consciousness of the working classes and their desire to attain a socialistic production setup."

The Congress expresses its unalterable solidarity with the entirely or partially oppressed colonial peoples in their struggle for national independence of their countries.

The Congress is pleased to note the success achieved through the socialistic progress in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and other socialistic states. It expects that -- by continuing this progress and by eliminating the mistakes and abuses which occurred in the past and were incompatible with the nature of socialism -- a further development will take place in the material as well as in the spiritual field, which will exert an increasing influence upon the development in all parts of the world.

It is of vital concern to the population of the entire world that this development take place in a peaceful manner and that the threat of an all-destructive war be eliminated by means of negotiations leading toward peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

The Congress is of the opinion that an especially great threat to peace exists due to the rearmament of Western Germany and the repeal, in constantly increasing numbers, of limiting stipulations with regard to the possession of atomic weapons and the concentration of heavy industry in Western Germany. The existence of a West German government which includes former Nazis, and which permits former Nazis to occupy a variety of significant public positions, plays into the hands of resurgent Fascist and anti-semitic activities.

The successive postwar governments in the Netherlands have made our country a full-fledged partner in the policy of armament and cold war. The heavy armament burden and the uninterrupted rise in businessmen's profits go hand in hand with a systematically increasing pressure upon the living standard of the working population. This becomes possible through the policy of class cooperation, followed by the PvdA and by the Nvv, as well as through the dogmatic and sectarian attitude of the CPN. The PvdA, in its most recent Congress, has entirely eliminated the principles of class struggle and socialism. The undemocratic methods, the glorification of individuals, and the vilification of the masses -- which are in great demand in the CPN -- are preventing this party from being restored to health.

The Congress is of the opinion that, for this reason, the SWP must become the party of the working population, a party which will carry on the struggle for their present and future interests and which will form the basis and starting point for the unification of all socialists.

This unity can be achieved only in, and by means of, a continuous ideological struggle for the principles of socialism as well as in, and by means of, the class struggle against the propertied classes and the government policy which follows their directions. The present De Quay government is the direct executrix of the policy as prescribed by the large business interests and the monopolies.

The Congress appeals to the Dutch population to take up the struggle in favor of a policy which has the following goals:

1. the furtherance of the lessening of international tension and disarmament, by taking and supporting steps in this direction;
2. the reduction of the military expenditures and shortening of the time of service;

3. the improvement of the living standard of the entire working population by means of the wage and price policy and by means of the system of taxation;

4. a speedy termination of the need for housing by expanding the construction of people's housing at lower rentals, while maintaining the housing law and the rent control, without any further increase in rentals;

5. unrestricted work opportunity, completion of the necessary public works, and industrialization in those areas where -- due to the obsolete economic structure -- structural unemployment is prevalent;

6. prompt introduction of the 40-hour work week, without any change in wages, and identical remuneration for the same kind of work, whether performed by men or women;

7. full preservation of the right to strike and abolishment of the PBO which violates the democratic rights of the workers, the middle classes, and the small businessmen;

8. improvement of public education and effective measures to eliminate the lack of teachers and of buildings suitable for instruction purposes;

9. more extensive support for the development of art and culture, health care and youth activities, sport and recreation;

10. security of subsistence for middle classes, farmers, and greengrocers through reduction of tax burdens and subsidies guaranteeing profitable prices;

11. freedom of expression over radio and television, abolition of any kind of discrimination based upon progressive attitudes.

Dutch workers! Fight with the SWP for the realization of these claims! For the replacement of the De Quay government by a progressive government! For the unification of all your forces, so that our country may start out on the road that leads toward peace and socialism!

5. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CUBAN COMMUNIST YOUTH PLENUM  
OF 28-29 NOVEMBER 1959 (RESOLUTIONS AND AGREEMENTS ADOPTED  
AT THE FOURTH PLENUM OF JS)

Hoy

6 December 1959, Havana

Page 10, Spanish (Cuban) daily np (Communist)

Political Education Work of Socialist Youth /Juventud Socialista -- JS/

In Cuba a mortal battle is developing between the forces of national liberation and the forces of pro-imperialist counterrevolution.

The enemies of Cuba are increasing, without success, their anti-Communist campaign, as a means of dividing the masses and terrorizing vacillating elements and, in this way, of preparing the ground for the counterrevolution.

The crooks, the "Plattists" (Reference to the Platt Amendment which, incorporated in the Cuban constitution until 1933, provided the legal basis for US intervention in Cuba.), and the rightists are using various pretexts which have anti-Communism as a base to halt the Revolution, deprive it of its radical, anti-imperialist, national liberation spirit, and take a "backward step."

The counterrevolutionaries, in the first place, under the inspiration of the imperialists of the United States, and, also, the rightists, opportunists, or cowards, present numerous confusionist arguments.

Faced with that situation, Socialist Youth must unmask the interventionist and foreign character of anti-Communism.

Socialist Youth must hold high the right of Cubans to self-determination, to decide our destiny, and to realize our free and sovereign will in choosing the forms of life or the social regime which the majority of our people decide on.

Socialist Youth must make quite clear, among the masses of youth, the political line of the Party and the scientific foundations of our opinions.

Socialist Youth must insist on the study of the thousand-times-proved science of Marxism-Leninism, and spread its principal elements.

Youth must contribute to the elevation to an even higher level of the spirit of national dignity and of responsible patriotism and of the disposition of our youth and our people to defend Cuba against any enemy, however powerful he may be.

The IV Plenum calls on the units of Socialist Youth to develop the following:

1. At least one discussion of questions and answers per month.
2. Creation of Study Circles, bearing in mind the Resolution on "Propaganda among Socialist Youth."
3. To spread on a massive basis our propaganda material, principally the magazine, "Mella."

#### On People's Brigades and Militia

Cuban youth, and the broad working masses of the city and the countryside, are enlisting, with enormous patriotic enthusiasm, in the people's brigades and militia.

Under the leadership of the heroic Rebel Army, thousands of Cubans are undergoing basic training in the use of arms, with the traditional Cuban cry of "Liberty or Death."

The IV Plenum supports, with all its strength, those efforts directed at the defense of the Cuban Revolution against any attack by the internal or external counterrevolution.

The IV Plenum of Socialist Youth calls on all its militants and on all its units to work without a let-up so that, under the leadership of the glorious Rebel Army, and closely linked to the young people of the "26 of July," of the "Revolutionary Directorate," and of all the revolutionary organizations, as well as all the young people and workers, peasants and students, they may take their places in the people's brigades and militia to defend the Revolution and carry it forward.

Let there not be a single young man or girl in the ranks of Socialist Youth who does not know how to handle arms!

#### Arms and Planes to Defend Cuba!

The people of Cuba have understood the importance of providing our Revolutionary Armed Forces with adequate arms and planes for the defense of our threatened Fatherland. The IV Plenum calls on Socialist Youth and all of Cuban youth to:

1. Support, with efforts multiplied a hundred times, the very many efforts, now under way, to collect money for the purchase of "Planes and Arms to Defend Cuba."

2. Contribute to the organization of functions, fairs, festivals, etc., from which the proceeds are donated to the Revolutionary Armed Forces for the objective referred to above.

On the Latin-American Congress of Youth

The principal democratic youth organizations of Latin America are represented in the Preparatory Meeting of the Latin-American Congress of Youth, which is being held in Santiago, Chile, at the present time.

The recent Congress of the CTC /Confederacion de Trabajadores Cubanos -- Confederation of Cuban Workers/ unanimously gave its support to this important event.

The "26 July Movement," the "Revolutionary Directorate of 13 March," the FEU /Federacion Estudiantil Universitaria -- Federation of University Students/ of the University of Havana, Catholic Youth, and Socialist Youth are represented at that meeting.

Socialist Youth reiterates its total support for that initiative, which responds to an old and legitimate desire of Latin-American youth, in the struggle throughout the continent for national independence and for the independent socio-economic development of our peoples, in the face of the oppression of Yankee imperialism.

Socialist Youth supports that manifestation of democratic and liberating Latin-Americanism, which will be a great act of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, which today epitomizes the most just interests of Latin America.

On the Magazine "Mella"

The magazine "Mella" is the most important voice of Socialist Youth. "Mella" completed 15 years of publication in 1959, at the side of Socialist Youth. Its history has been glorious. "Mella" came out 80 times in more than 300,000 copies, with abundant illustrations and in color, during the most ferocious years of the tyranny.

Now "Mella" comes out in a new format of great beauty and has been well-received.

The establishment of the "Mella" press and our new economic responsibilities as a result, place great burdens on us.

It is therefore necessary that sales of "Mella" increase and that its editions are sold out quickly, in order to guarantee its continued publication.

The IV Plenum calls on all of our militants to distribute, sell, and liquidate more and in a better way the editions of our central organ.

On the Progress of Socialist Youth on the Front of Agrarian Work

The III Broadened Plenum of Socialist Youth, which occurred on 25, 26, and 27 September in Yaguajay, broadly discussed the agrarian work of our organization.

This IV Plenum concludes that in the past two months our work on that front has significantly improved.

The IV Plenum calls once again on Socialist Youth to apply, with growing energy, the Resolution of Yaguajay on the questions of the work of Socialist Youth on the agrarian front, and to facilitate, with its constant and abnegating action, the efforts of the INRA /Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria -- National Institute of Agrarian Reform/ in its objective of carrying out the Agrarian Reform Law.

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PREFACE TO THE PLATFORM AND BY-LAWS OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI KURDISTAN

Khebat

11 & 12 January 1960, Baghdad

During the latter part of the 18th Century, the countries of the Middle and Near East became a target of occupation and exploitation by the modern capitalist and advanced European countries. It was inevitable that Kurdistan also with its strategic position and natural wealth should invite the greed of the imperialists. It became the object of contention, intrigues, partition and occupation. It was partitioned between the Ottoman and Persian states in a series of wars between them. This partition was not only confirmed by the peace conference following World War I, but the number of units was increased by force of arms to satisfy British, French, and American imperialism. The Kurds were completely denied the right to national self-determination.

As a result of European capitalism, the Kurdish people and particularly the working classes among them fell under the yoke of three forms of oppression and arbitrary feudal rule; oppression by Turkish and Iranian capitalists which was in fact the explicitation of our people by European-British, German and French capitalists, and also lately by American capitalists. These forms of oppression undermined the economic position of the Kurdish worker but on the other hand gave rise to independence and liberation movements in Kurdistan. The struggle of the Kurdish people to liberate themselves and gain independence led to a greater organization of their ranks, compared with the situation early in the 19th century when the Kurdish movement was isolated, short-sighted and lacked both organization and leadership such as a political party could provide.

But in the recent past and especially since the end of World War I, the struggle for a national Kurdistan has assumed a new character. It is organized and led by a party in accordance with a widely accepted program of action. The whole Kurdish people and their progressive classes participate in this effort with extreme enthusiasm. Immediately after World War I, the Kurdish people embarked on a struggle, under the leadership of certain political parties and in accordance with a definite political program, to rid themselves and Kurdistan of Turkish and Iranian domination. The sacrifices sustained and the martyrs offered proved to the entire world that the people of Kurdistan will not give up the struggle until their country is liberated and they gain their independence.

Although the Kurdish people had learned the liberal democratic ways from other liberation movements in the world, they remained isolated, fighting the aggressors alone, until the great October Revolution took place in Russia. And just as the October Revolution had an impact in intensifying the struggle between the colonial powers and the occupied countries, it gave an impetus to the democratic liberation movement in Kurdistan, strengthened it, and united it with similar movements in neighboring countries so that the Kurdish movement became a part of the general effort by all the exploited nations to liberate themselves from imperialism and feudalism.

The liberation movement in Kurdistan struggled side by side with movements in Turkey and Iran against the common enemies: imperialism and reaction as represented by the ruling classes. In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, who later persecuted and massacred the Kurds, appealed to them when he was leading the Turkish liberation movement against the Greeks and the imperialists. Hundreds of Kurds lost their lives in defending every inch of Turkey at a time when the Turkish Republic was fighting for its life. In this revolt, the Kurds proved in a practical way the value of their brotherly relations and cooperation with the free Turks. In the Congress which was convened in 1919 in Erzrum, the leaders of the Kurdish people adopted the resolution that the enemies of Free Turkey are enemies of the Kurds. Therefore just as the Kurds fight for their freedom, they would fight to protect the Turkish Republic and the independence of the Turkish people against the enemy. But no sooner than the danger threatening the Turkish Republic was removed and the situation stabilized, the Kemalists arrested the course of their revolution and rewarded the Kurds for their loyalty and sacrifices by oppression, execution of its leaders, massacres and a campaign to liquidate the whole Kurdish nation.

The chauvinism of Mustafa Kemal and his followers alienated not only the Kurds but all other national groups in Turkey as well. As a result of this chauvinism, the liberation movements of the Kurds and the Turks parted courses, and the Kurds adopted the extreme view of demanding national independence. The whole Kurdish people now struggle for the independence of Kurdistan under the leadership of progressive political parties and programs. In 1925-28 and again in 1930, 1937 and 1939, the Kurdish people rose in Diarbakr, Ararat and Dersim under the leadership of the Party "Kurdistan" and later under the leadership of Khoyboun.<sup>1/</sup> In Iran

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<sup>1/</sup> Khoyboun later defected from its nationalist policy and succumbed to reactionary forces.

the Kurdish people supported the free Iranians against the common enemy. In 1918, 1920, 1925, and 1929, the Kurdish people in Material and Khorasan rose against feudalism and the dictatorship of Rida Shah; it was a general campaign for freedom by the Persian and other nations.

The struggle of the Kurdish people which began in 1920 under the leadership of Samko was in complete agreement with the struggle of the people of Azerbaijan against Iranian reaction under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammed Khayebani. Such was also the struggle of Kadim Khayr-el Illyeh against the reactionary government of Rida Shah and against British imperialism, and the uprisings in 1945-47, when the liberation movement spread throughout Iran, especially in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan under the leadership of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iran. The People's Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan was founded in Mahabad, where the Kurds and their brethren the Azerbaijanis and Iranians were fighting side by side against imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary government in Tehran. They were united in their objective of liberating Iran during the Javansh movement in 1955-56, when the opposition to the Tehran Government and to American imperialism met with the support of all Iraqi Kurds.

Ever since 1918, when the Provinces of Basrah, Baghdad and Mosul fell under British imperialism, the Kurdish population of Southern Kurdistan resisted imperialism in full cooperation with the Arab people. In the 1920 Revolt which aimed at liberating Iraq, the Kurds also resisted the common enemy. After Southern Kurdistan was annexed to Iraq officially, the Arabs and the Kurds have been fighting for the independence of Iraq, the ousting of imperialism and regaining democratic and national rights.

The uprisings of Sheikh Mahmud and the revolts led by the Barzans under the leadership of Sheikh Ahmad and Kulla Nasirah Barzani against imperialism and the monarchy met with the support of all free Iraqis. These revolts were regarded by all Iraqis as though they were carried out by the Iraqi people.

The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan which leads the liberation movement of all free Kurds has always cooperated closely with the Iraqi Communist Party and with other parties in Iraq, and although the demands of the Kurdish people are reasonable and just, the international situation and the attitude of the imperialist Powers have unfortunately hampered until now the solution of the Kurdish problem.

The Kurdish problem was ignored in world councils, but this did not weaken the Kurdish people. On the contrary, it strengthened their determination day by day.

The imperialist powers wanted to cheat the Kurds in order to weaken their democratic liberation movement and to break up the unity of purpose between the Kurds and other nations. But the liberation movement fully realized that these were merely tricks designed to tighten the hold of imperialism over Kurdistan. They rejected these imperialist plans with an iron will. The imperialists then attempted to impose upon the Kurds a course of action at which the Kurds took up arms to fight the imperialists and their stooges and to carry the struggle until Kurdistan is liberated.

#### The International Situation

The international situation is characterized by the existence of two opposing camps. The conflict between them has taken the following shape.

1. The struggle by the peace-loving nations against the war mongers.
2. The struggle of nations to regain political and economic independence, to free themselves from imperialism and occupation, and to establish democratic governments.
3. The struggle by the socialist and democratic forces against imperialism and reaction. If we examine closely these conflicting forces we find that imperialism and reaction are their common denominators. Since the imperialist and reactionary forces cooperate closely, it would be only natural for the opposing forces to cooperate in their struggle against imperialism and reaction. It is now evident that the forces of colonialism and imperialism are nearing their collapse. Since World War II, the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been gaining strength. Many dependent nations which were formerly colonized have gained their independence. These include China, Korea, Vietnam, Tunisia, Indonesia, Burma, Syria and Egypt. Iraq was a stronghold of imperialism until the July 14 Revolution. But on that memorable date, the stronghold was destroyed under the leadership of Abdul Karim Kassem and Iraq became the refuge of free men in the Middle East.

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The democratic liberal awakening which is evident throughout the Middle East and in Iraq after July 14 in particular are ample proof that imperialism and reaction are on their death beds unable to regain their strength. It is also evident that Iran and Turkey still suffer from imperialism and reaction. Such countries as Algeria, Pakistan and other African and Asian countries are heading towards freedom, for imperialism is unable to stop the current towards independence.

The economic and social situation in the world today is characterized by the existence of two opposing systems. One system is that of capitalism and imperialism, whose leader is the United States. Since the Second World War these countries have lost most of their markets and control over the countries which have become independent. They are in a state of constant crisis, but in order to stabilize their economies, the imperialist capitalist countries have tuned their economies to the war effort, exploiting their workers in the worst possible manner. Indeed they are like a man who is about to die or drown but is unwilling to exert any effort to save his life. This situation cannot last, for it is not based on solid foundations. We have shown that the imperialist-capitalist countries experience economic crisis daily, increasing unemployment, hunger and resentment amongst the laboring classes. Another indication of the inevitable collapse of the imperialist economies and their disintegration is the serious conflict over markets among the American, British, German, French and Japanese imperialists after they lost most of their markets; such a conflict can only lead to a weakening of the imperialist economic system.

The other economic-social system in the world is the socialist system. After the glorious October Revolution, Russia left the ranks of the imperialist countries to establish socialism. Thanks to this system, agriculture and industry continue to grow in Russia. After World War II, a group of countries in Asia and Europe joined the Socialist Camp. These were: China, Korea, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Germany. These countries liberated themselves from capitalism and embarked on the road to socialism.

The great country of China is a gigantic model that should prove to the world that with the help of a socialist system the people of China were able to transform their country, within a short span of time, from an underdeveloped area dependent on imperialism to a developed nation.

The advanced state of industry, technology and science in the socialist countries is evident to all. The relations between the socialist countries on the one hand, and the countries which have recently gained independence from imperialism on the other, are based on the principles of brotherhood, friendship and equality. The aid provided by the Soviet Union to the underdeveloped countries is but an expression of the friendly feelings of the socialist countries towards all free nations.

Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have supported with all the means at their disposal the liberation movements of other nations and have helped them rid themselves of imperialism. The assistance provided to India, Egypt, Syria and Iraq are good examples of this policy; they clearly show that the socialist countries have no other motive than to help uplift the economies of underdeveloped countries, not to dominate them or exploit them in any possible way.

By contrast we find that the assistance provided by American and British imperialism to Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and China (Formosa) is only a means to war and plunder. The imperialists are threatening the world with their nuclear weapons and are pushing humanity to the brink of disaster, while the gigantic scientific and economic forces of the Soviet countries contribute to world peace and democracy and prevent imperialism from realizing its dirty objectives. It is very clear that the forces of peace and stability in the world are day by day gaining in strength over the forces of imperialism, reaction and feudalism which are heading for collapse and disintegration.

The free people throughout the world, including the free Kurds, are fully aware that after they are liberated from imperialism they will be able to attain the objectives of real freedom, and independence.

#### Economic, Social and Political Conditions in Iraq

In view of its agricultural and other natural resources, Iraq is a rich country. Its oil reserves and other mineral resources in Kurdistan and elsewhere in Iraq attracted the attention of the imperialists who attempted to keep Iraq under their control by keeping the country in a state of poverty and ignorance which would help them in exploiting it and plundering its wealth. The reactionary governments in Iraq cooperated with the imperialists in their effort to keep the country poor and ignorant.

To study the economic and social conditions in Kurdistan, one must start with a study of the social and economic conditions in Iraq in general.

Iraq is an underdeveloped agricultural country where 60-70% of the population are directly engaged in agricultural pursuits or in livestock raising. The remaining 30-35% are the town people from whom are drawn the merchants, government officials, laborers, etc. Most of the laborers of Iraq are employed in the oil industry and especially in the oil fields of Mosul, Kirkuk, Tharagin and Basra; in the Railways, road building, and various factories.

The laborers of Iraq were living under very poor economic conditions; they had no social security to protect them, little education to improve their lot, and they were denied their basic rights.

The condition of the Kurdish people was also in a bad state until the July 14 Revolution took place. They were denied all civil rights as well as the right to educate their children in their own language. There were very few hospitals and schools in Kurdistan, and many children died each year for lack of medical care and public hygiene. The British and their servants (the old Iraqi regime) relied on the feudal system in Kurdistan and treated the Kurds as slaves. The Kurdish farmers were burdened by oppression, denied the fruits of their own labor which were appropriated by the feudal lords, and exploited in all possible ways. The laborers in the cities of Kurdistan did not fare better. The shopkeepers were molested every day and the progressive thinkers who refused to submit to imperialism and feudalism or to abandon the struggle for liberation were persecuted, imprisoned, exiled and even hanged. The officials who refused to execute the orders of the imperialists and the landlords to persecute the people were either sacked or banished to live in hardship in far away ports.

The reactionary governments placed obstacles in the face of all students and especially the Kurdish students, persecuting them and denying them education. The Kurdish women were also denied their basic human rights.

Imperialism, feudalism and the pre-Revolutionary governments were a great obstacle to the advancement of science and industry in Kurdistan. In short, Kurdistan, rich with agricultural, mineral and animal resources, was turned by the imperialists, feudalists and the reactionary governments into an important source of raw materials and a large market for their goods; they plundered whenever they could the laborers of Kurdistan.

The July 14 Revolution was a great victory for the liberation movements in the Middle East and especially of the National Democratic movement in Iraq. The Revolution was the outcome of a long and bitter struggle by the people of Iraq, be they Arabs, Kurds or other nationalities, all of whom sacrificed much to realize it. This glorious revolution was a national democratic revolt against imperialism and feudalism; it uprooted the reactionary monarchy and replaced it with a progressive democratic regime. The Revolution shattered the Baghdad pact and brought to trial the mercenary politicians who had sold their country to the imperialists. Political prisoners were set free, the national press liberated, and many groups - students, women workers, and the democratic youth - allowed to form their own unions. An agrarian reform law was passed, the Eisenhower Doctrine denounced and Iraq left the Sterling Area. Diplomatic relations were established with the socialist countries and Iraq followed a peaceful polity that veered away from all imperialist influence.

Our Republic today pursues a free policy; our Revolution is a solid foundation for peace and stability throughout the world, for the liberation of all dependent nations, and for the development of Iraq. From the start, the Iraqi nation stood by the Republic, willing to defend it against aggression. They showed complete readiness to sacrifice much in its defence. They showed their distaste and hatred towards the conspiracies of Abdul Salam, and Rashid Ali. They put down the uprising of the traitor Shawwaf sacrificing much blood and many martyrs to prove that in the future they will spare no effort to defend the Republic and remove all obstacles impeding its progress.

Article 3 of the Provisional Constitution regards the Arabs and Kurds as partners in the Iraqi nation and recognizes the national rights of the Kurds within the Iraqi union.

Protecting the Republic of Iraq, strengthening and developing its democratic institutions are the sacred duty of all Iraqis and especially of the Kurds in Iraq. For a strong democratic republic in Iraq is a mortal blow to the imperialists and reactionary governments in Iran, Turkey, and the feudalist Arab countries. It will lend support to the liberation movements in these countries and strengthen the Kurdish liberation movement. The imperialists are inciting the reactionary governments of Turkey and Iran to plot against our Republic. Likewise the bourgeoisie and feudalists inside Iraq, the Arab chauvinists, and the mercenary spies of the imperialists inside Iraq work towards the same objective and have recently united their front. Therefore, the Kurds should remain

vigilant against such movements whose aim is to overthrow the Republic; they should support the socialist peace-loving front with an iron will if they wanted freedom for themselves, for only this camp can gain freedom for the Kurdish people.

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI KURDISTAN

Ittihad ash-Sha'b  
11 January 1960, Baghdad

"We publish the following Platform of the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan which was attached to the application submitted by the Party to the Ministry of the Interior requesting registration."

Article 1. The Party shall be known as the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Article 2. Our Party is a progressive, democratic revolutionary Party which represents the interests of workers, farmers, wage earners, handicraftsmen and revolutionary workers in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Article 3. The Party is guided in its political struggle and social policies by the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Article 4. The Party struggles to preserve the democratic Republic of Iraq, and to widen and strengthen its democratic policies which are based on the principles of guided democracy that will ensure the following individual and group rights: The right to express freely opinions and beliefs, free press, and freedom to organize political parties and labor unions; a constitution providing for free and direct democratic elections in which suffrage is granted to all citizens who are 18 years of age or over, irrespective of sex, should be promulgated. Maximum firmness should be exercised against all the enemies of the Republic; government departments, both military and civilian, should be purged of undesirable elements. The defence forces of the country should be strengthened in order to protect the gains of the people.

Article 5(a). We struggle in defence of world peace and aim at reducing international tension. We are guided by the United Nations Charter, the principle of the Bandung Conference and the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations. International conflicts should be resolved in negotiation. Nuclear weapons and nuclear tests are to be banned in accordance with an international agreement.

(b) We shall continue in our nationalist policy which is opposed to imperialism as the greatest danger threatening Iraq and the Kurdish nation. The agreements and pacts which detract from the sovereignty and independence of Iraq should be repealed. Relations should be strengthened with all countries and particularly with countries of the socialist camp on the basis of mutual benefit. Brotherly relations should be established with member countries of the Arab League and of the Afro-Asian bloc. All countries which are struggling for their independence or the right to self determination must be supported.

Article 6 (a). We uphold the establishment of brotherly and friendly relations between the Arabs and Kurds as well as among the various other national groups in Iraq; i.e., Assyrians, Turkomans, Armenians, etc. We also work for consolidating the national union, obtaining increased rights for the Kurdish people on the basis of autonomy within the Iraqi unity; this should be guaranteed in the constitution. Chauvinistic, cosmopolitan, and independence movements must be fought.

(b) To strengthen the brotherly relations with the Iraqi Communist Party, the National Democratic Party and the various democratic organizations in Iraq; to support the cooperation between our Party and the various democratic parties and organizations in Kurdistan; and to strengthen the relationships between our Party and the various Communist parties and organizations throughout the world.

Article 7. We support the Kurdish people in their effort to obtain a fair share of representation, employment by the government and by semi-official bodies, provided that due attention is given to the similar rights of other minorities living in Kurdistan.

Article 8. We aim at developing the national awareness and raising the standard of living of the people by implementing a comprehensive economic development plan, executing short-range and long-range projects and by preparing the administrative and technical machinery required for such a task.

Article 9. Our Party believes that heavy industries are the foundation of political and economic independence. We therefore shall work towards industrializing Iraq by establishing heavy and light industries in the light of surveys of natural resources to be conducted for the purpose. Special attention should be paid to petroleum, phosphorus and hydroelectric power. We aim at creating a prosperous national industry protected from foreign competition. National capital should be encouraged provided that the interests of the consumer are safeguarded. The economic agreement between

Iraq and the U.S.S.R. should be ratified and put into effect as an important guarantee of the development of our national industries. Industries in Kurdistan should be encouraged as feasible, of which the following industries and measures may be considered: Sugar refining, paper mill, dairy products, tanning, preserved fruits and tobacco manufactures. Customs duties on machinery and equipment required for the national industries should be abolished.

Article 10. We aim at eradicating unemployment and at the promulgation of progressive laws which will guarantee laborers and employees a minimum wage sufficient to provide a decent standard of living for the worker and his family. Working hours should be reduced, the employment of adolescents prohibited and social security and labor legislation passed whereby unions are guaranteed certain rights. Labor delegations should be sent abroad, technical schools increased in number and the technical skills of workers raised to a high level.

Article 11. We maintain and work for increasing the government's share in petroleum revenues by reconsidering the existing agreements and limiting the scope of operations of the oil companies to the areas actually under exploitation. The government should receive the remaining concession areas, exploit them, and undertake to produce the various petroleum products and market them in Iraq and abroad. It should exercise control over the implementation of the agreements with the oil companies regarding production and prices and also in order to prevent the oil companies from interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq. The government should also establish petroleum industries to make use of by-products and prepare the technical and administrative set-up that could eventually make possible nationalization of the petroleum industry.

Article 12. Since the land problem in Kurdistan is peculiar to the area in ways which have not received full consideration in the Agrarian Reform Law, we advocate amendment of the Law in such a way as to ensure a minimum tenancy for each farmer and to eradicate completely the feudal pattern of relationships. To improve the standard of living and increase the incomes of farmers, our Party works for the following:

First (a) To reclaim and irrigate cultivable land which at present is fallow and to distribute this land to landless farmers or to those whose tenancies are smaller than the prescribed minimum;

(b) To solve the water problem by tapping artesian sources of water, building dams and canals to tap riparian sources and making it possible for the farmers to benefit from the government irrigation projects;

(c) To help the farmers by providing them with seeds and fertilizers which would enable them to improve and increase the variety of their crops, and to provide them with long-term credit at low rates of interest in order to save them from the grips of the money lenders;

(d) To establish agricultural cooperatives for marketing the products and procuring in bulk the requirements of farmers of consumers' goods and agricultural equipment;

(e) To spread the use of agricultural machinery and the application of modern techniques of production including cooperative work throughout the rural areas;

(f) To provide extension services and send farmers abroad in order to raise the level of technical efficiency in agriculture.

Second: Livestock raising is one of the two main forms of income of the farmer in Kurdistan. We therefore advocate:

(a) The removal of all restrictions and privileges connected with livestock raising such as the payment of grazing rights, gifts and other feudal exactions;

(b) To resettle the nomads with due consideration given to their circumstances by distributing among them land for cultivation and grazing;

(c) To establish veterinary centers and other services designed to improve the livestock.

Thirdly: (a) To amend the concession regulating tobacco monopoly in a manner which will ensure reduced restrictions on growing tobacco, improved quality and better prices;

(b) To advance seasonal credit to farmers on easy terms;

(c) To provide technical exports for the improvement and storage of tobacco;

(d) To improve the cigarette manufacturing industry by establishing factories and laboratories, which would make Iraq an exporting country.

Fourthly: (a) To introduce legislation for the preservation of forests in the interest of the national economy;

(b) To encourage afforestation and horticulture.

Article 13. To transfer the control of foreign establishments which are in a strategic position in our trade to Iraqi hands and to encourage the Iraqi business community to expand their business activities with regard to foreign and domestic trade, and to combat monopolies, speculation and manipulation, especially of essential commodities. Our economic relations with other countries should be established on a principle of mutual benefit and respect of national sovereignty.

Article 14 (a). To organize the finances of the country on the basis of a balanced budget provided that strict economy in current expenditures is exercised to liberate resources for the development program;

(b) To reform the taxation system by introducing progressive taxes on incomes and inheritance and reducing the indirect taxes whose burden falls mainly on the working classes;

(c) To encourage local banks by increasing their capital, regulating interest charges received and paid by them on various types of loans and deposits, and reserving all transactions in foreign exchange to the national banks;

(d) To strengthen the Central Bank of Iraq and increase its powers to adopt measures designed to reduce smuggling of currencies and gold and strengthen the Iraqi dinar by providing it with an adequate cover of gold and other currencies;

(e) Nationalization of foreign banks;

(f) To formulate a tariff policy in the light of the general welfare and the need to protect local industries.

Article 15 (a). To improve the transportation system in Iraqi Kurdistan by building modern highways and expanding the railways network. Nationally owned petroleum tankers should be acquired to transport Iraqi oil to its markets, and a national maritime transport company established. The communications network should be expanded along with the expansion in the air services as the need arises.

(b) To develop the summer resorts of Iraq by connecting them to the main cities with modern highways, especially a highway connecting Sulaymaniyah with Zakho and the other cities of Iraq.

Article 16. To strengthen our armed forces by raising the standard of their health, education and living condition in a manner that will create a modern army for Iraq which is educated in the spirit of true nationalism and democracy that are needed for the defence of the Republic and of the revolutionary gains of the people. We also believe in uplifting the national police force by raising its health, education and living standards and by strengthening the nationalist spirit amongst them.

Article 17. To provide adequate public health facilities by opening colleges and schools, sending medical missions abroad and initiating a campaign to eradicate chronic and contagious diseases by using all the facilities of publicity and education available to the state, and by providing potable water in the rural areas. Free medicine should be spread by building hospitals, clinics and other medical establishments and by providing the isolated villages with medical facilities. An appropriate plan is to be formulated to encourage the local production of medical supplies and their distribution at low prices.

Article 18. The system of direct democratic elections should be applied by all municipal councils, and a national plan of municipal development should be formulated for the construction of parks, streets, playgrounds and public squares.

Article 19. The political and economic rights of women should be protected and legislation passed to protect their right to work, regulate maternity leave, protect the family and protect the woman in matters relating to marriage, divorce, and inheritance.

Article 20 (a). We work towards eradicating illiteracy and ignorance, guiding education into true national democratic channels and combatting reactionary ideas. Theory and practice must go hand in hand.

(b) We aim at reviving Kurdish literature, history and art, preserving historical sites in Kurdistan and enriching Kurdish culture with the culture of other nations.

(c) To implement the rules of the education department concerning the teaching of Kurdish in schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Kurdish Teachers' Conference in Shaklawa. We aim at developing the Kurdish language until it becomes a good medium for expressing the cultural rights of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan.

(d) To strengthen the Iraqi University, preserve its independence and make it an important center of scientific research. New colleges and schools should be opened in Iraqi Kurdistan in preparation for the establishment of a university which will work closely

with the Baghdad university to prepare the technical and administrative abilities needed for the development and prosperity of the Republic of Iraq.

(e) To establish a chair of Kurdish studies in the Baghdad University, spread teaching of the Kurdish language throughout Iraq, create an academy for the development of the Kurdish language and establish a broadcasting station in Kurdistan.

(f) Elementary education should be made compulsory. For adult education it is necessary to open evening classes, libraries and laboratories, organize public lectures and debates and organize clubs and societies.

(g) To develop Kurdish art and literature and use the revolutionary character of Kurdish culture in the service of the Iraqi people and especially of the Kurdish people. The literary and art movements among the Kurds should be encouraged by all the means available to the government, including the granting of scholarships to Kurdish students.

Article 21. The cultural, economic and social rights of the national minorities living in Iraqi Kurdistan are fully protected (Assyrians, Turkomans and Armenians, etc.). This can be achieved by opening schools for them, reviving their cultural heritage and ensuring equality of treatment in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

Article 22. We uphold the provisions of Article 19 of the Provisional Constitution of the Iraqi Republic concerning the political refugees from among the Kurdish people who have returned to Iraq, and we advocate providing them with the maximum assistance they need.

Article 23. We struggle for the right of all the people of Kurdistan to free themselves from the oppression of imperialism and reaction and to determine their own form of government.

ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI  
KURDISTAN IN LEADING THE STRUGGLES  
OF THE TOILING MASSES OF KURDISTAN

Khebat

13 January 1960, Baghdad

The working masses of farmers, laborers and revolutionary workers of Kurdistan bore the brunt of the revolutionary struggles of the Kurdish people and their Arab brethren in the fight against imperialism reaction and aggression.

In the often violent National Kurdish revolts and the armed and peaceful uprisings and in all progressive movements the Kurdish working classes were the main force in the peaceful and armed struggle against the exploiters of the Iraqi people and the stooge of imperialism, the monarchy. They also were the main target of the many campaigns of annihilation, genocide, execution, and imprisonment conducted by the enemies of the national revolutionary movement. The masses of farmers and workers suffered the most.

For the working classes were living under the yoke of the land owning Kurdish bourgeoisie, and were manipulated to serve the interests of these groups in accordance with their own methods. These working classes who struggled and sacrificed, lacked their own leadership. They needed a leadership that would spring from their own ranks, protect their own class and national interests and look after their individual interests, propagating their ideas, and adopting their revolutionary methods. Then came the second World War which served as a watershed for the development and propagation of new progressive ideas in the Middle East. Emperor Rida Shah of Iran abdicated, and northern Iran was liberated by the Red Army and a progressive movement grew in Kurdistan (Iran) and Azerbaijan. A progressive labor movement grew in the East which, coupled with the spreading of revolutionary ideas, had an impact on the Kurdish liberation movement which was developing along its own individual lines. The Kurdish movement learned much from its bitter experience and sacrifices. Mention should be made of the popular revolt in Barzan which was led by the national hero Mustafa Barzani against imperialism, the monarchy and the feudalist traitors.

The starting point in all the changes affecting the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people was opposition to imperialism

and reaction. These developments resulted in the creation of the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan as a historical necessity of the development of Iraqi society, enriched as it is by the tradition of revolution inherited from a long history of popular revolt.

Thus came into being the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan. It was the outcome of the struggle of the Kurdish and Arab people to end the rule of the Hashemite monarchy, liberate Iraq from the shackles of imperialist treaties and pacts, and create a democratic system in which the Arab and Kurdish nations are guaranteed their democratic rights and liberties. The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan came into being to perform the historical role of a leader in the revolution to liberate Iraqi Kurdistan and to share with the Arab nation their struggle for the liberation of the Iraqi national movement. Its aim is to protect the progressive movement in Iraq from the dangers of being misled and cheated by imperialism or by narrow nationalism or by the dirty trick of cosmopolitanism. It is our duty to purge the national movement of the remnants of imperialism and its agents among the Kurds.

The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan grew and gained strength as the party and fighting leader of the masses. The Party has always championed the class and national interests of the masses, guiding their movements and revolutionary uprisings.

Our Party was at the head of the Kurdish liberation movement; it adopted the aspirations and objectives of the people and guided them in the light of the scientific revolutionary spirit. It broadened the liberation movement and made it a true popular movement of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan. The Kurdish movement is today a revolutionary mass movement relying primarily on the laborers and farmers and including under its banner revolutionary workers, wage earners, handicraftsmen, businessmen, and other patriots who are loyal to the Iraqi Republic, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds. This is aside from the fact that the movement is by nature essentially a farmers' movement. This fact is evident from the participation of the masses of farmers in the movement and in the popular uprisings as well as in their support of the July 14 Revolution. The land problem is the same as the national problem.

The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan played an important role in spreading true national and class awareness among the farmers and in organizing and leading them in their struggle against the old regime. The Party has always stood by the farmers to protect their rights, it fought the diversionary, anarchistic and subversive currents in order to protect the farmers against these dangers.

The Party persisted in its efforts to organize cells in the rural areas which would study and defend the rights of farmers.

In spite of the fact that the Kurdish proletariat is small in numbers, it participated in the struggle for national liberation and has suffered great losses in Kawergosk and Suleymaniyyah. Our Party has always been loyal to the interests and rights of the proletariat which it leads.

Our Party has also rendered a great service to the mass of workers through its unremitting efforts to protect our great Iraqi Republic, to preserve the gains of the glorious July 14 Revolution, to bring about agrarian reform, and to realize a number of social reforms.

The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan is the party and vanguard of the working people and will forever remain their leader in the struggle to achieve all their objectives of peace, democracy and freedom from oppression and poverty in order to live a happy and prosperous life.

Article 2 of the Platform of the Party has expressed this truth by stipulating that our "Party is a democratic, progressive revolutionary party representing the interests of all workers, farmers, wage earners, handicraftsmen and revolutionary workers in Iraqi Kurdistan."

This explains the attachment of the people to their great Party: the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI KURDISTAN JEALOUSLY  
GUARDS THE PRESERVATION OF OUR IMMORTAL REPUBLIC,  
THE CONSOLIDATION OF ITS EXISTENCE AND THE  
STRENGTHENING OF TRUE IRAQI UNITY

Khebat

15 January 1960, Baghdad

History in general and the history of nations in particular teaches us a valuable fact which it would be useful for every Iraqi loyal to his immortal Republic and to Iraqi unity to learn.

This fact is that brotherhood and true unity among the national groups living in one country are preserved and strengthened by the mutual respect of the national and democratic rights of these groups and by the establishment among them of a relationship of complete equality and cooperation in rights and duties. A state in which all national groups enjoy their rights has strong foundations and structure. But a state in which one ruling class denies the other national groups their rights and aims at absorbing them or liquidating their separate identities is a weak state, which cannot stand on its own feet except with the help of bayonets and terror. The minorities in such a state, in order to regain their national rights, struggle not for but against it; they await the opportune moment to rid themselves of its oppression. The Kurdish people in Turkey and Iran are in a deadly struggle against their imperialist and reactionary rulers; for they cannot have much affection for the forcible union imposed upon them by their oppressive rulers. By comparison, the Kurds in Iraq devote their whole energies to the preservation and consolidation of the immortal democratic Republic of Iraq under the leadership of its founder, the son of the people, Abdul Karim Kassem. They work hard to block all those who have designs on the Republic, and they concentrate their efforts on strengthening the true unity in Iraq, based as it is on a recognition of the partnership between Arabs and Kurds and of the national rights of the Kurdish people within this unity. Our Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan heads the Kurdish national liberation movement in its sacred struggle against imperialism and reaction. Our Party has emphasized this function in its Platform where the preamble reads as follows:

"Defending the Republic of Iraq and strengthening and developing its democratic institutions is a holy duty of all Iraqis and of the Kurdish people in particular". Articles 4 and 6 of the Platform

reiterate this principle. They emphasize the necessity of struggle to preserve and consolidate the immortal Republic and strengthen the national union. Our Party attempts to lead the Kurdish liberation movement, side by side with the Arab liberation movement, against imperialism and reaction and towards the achievement of the common objective; these efforts were of great value in strengthening the bonds of brotherhood, unity, and common struggle of the two national groups. Our Party has continued its immortal struggle, with loyalty and self-denial, to strengthen the true Iraqi union created by the July 14 Revolution under the guidance of the leader of Arabs and Kurds, Abdul Karim Kassem. This union is based upon the solid foundations of equality and recognition of national democratic rights.

Our Party has played an important role at the head of the Kurdish liberation movement by adopting the objectives and legitimate ambitions of the Kurdish people. The Party was a major factor in defeating the plots and conspiracies of imperialism whose aim was to undermine Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and Iraqi unity in order to destroy our Republic and restore the hated imperialist control over our country.

Let us note the struggle of our Party to gain for the Kurdish people their legitimate rights and to revive in them their glorious revolutionary and progressive tradition. The Party struggles to attain these objectives, which constitute a part of its Platform, for which it must work persistently with the authorities until the Kurdish people are accorded their full rights. This struggle is a great contribution to the cause of consolidating the true national union in Iraq. For this cannot fail but to lead to increasing the attachment of the Kurdish people to their Republic and to the cause of unity it upholds. It puts the people on their guard against the imperialists and prevents the agents of imperialism and reaction from adopting the Kurdish nationality merely to exploit the liberation movement in the interest of their imperialist masters. This is a great service rendered by our Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan to the cause of unity in our immortal Republic.

Only the short-sighted cannot comprehend the importance of these achievements of our Party in strengthening true Iraqi unity. Those who are disturbed or who dread the legitimate demands of the Kurdish people do not serve but actually harm the cause of Iraqi unity. The union we advocate, the permanent union, is based upon free choice, complete equality in rights and duties, and on mutual respect for national identity. The true Arab nationalists should not therefore fear the consequences of the Kurdish people obtaining their rights. On the contrary, they should favor such a development

because it is to their advantage to erect a solid Arab-Kurdish union upon which all imperialist plotting is bound to flounder.

In the light of the foregoing facts, the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan, continues in its struggle to realize the objectives of the Kurdish people within the framework of Iraqi unity. It believes that this can only result in consolidating true unity in Iraq. It aims at mobilizing the Kurds who now live under Turkish oppression, Iranian reaction, and Nasserite dictatorship. It also believes in the struggle against the enemies of the Republic and the conspirators in these countries.

It is only natural that by winning their national rights, the Kurds of Iraq should become an iron curtain for the protection of the immortal Republic of Iraq, whose integrity they consider their sacred duty.

Therefore, our Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan will forever remain a faithful guardian of our immortal Republic and of true Iraqi unity, working under the leadership of Abdul Karim Kassem, the symbol of Arab-Kurdish brotherhood.

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